

WHAT'S THAT SOUND?
POLITICAL ACTION AND THE NEW LEFT AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY
1968 - 1970

Elizabeth A. Belser

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Master's Thesis Committee

John R. Kaufman-McKivigan, Ph.D., Chair

Jennifer Guiliano, Ph. D.

Robert W. White, Ph.D.

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Before I undertook this project, I was unaware of the 1960s activism at Purdue. I discovered that Purdue was similar to many other institutions where students tried to make sense of a contentious time, and I used their activism to examine the heart and soul of the New Left. In so doing, I was inspired by the tenacity and dreams of students who sought to break through American complacency and work for what they termed authenticity. I hope their story can give the present the perspective that only the past can give. Finally, I wish to acknowledge my use of a line from Stephen Stills's song, "For What It's Worth," as the source of my title.¹

¹ Stills, Stephen, Neil Young, Richie Furay, Dewey Martin, Bruce Palmer, and Jim Messina. *The Best of Buffalo Springfield Retrospective*. Atco, 1969. CD.

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Introduction

In 1968, New Left notions resonated throughout America, Canada, and Europe as new ideas and dreams transcended national borders in a synthesis of “cultural and social themes” set in unique historical traditions.² This global movement led by students and academicians searched for far-reaching social, political, and economic change. It deviated from the “Old Left” by its non-doctrinal, non-establishment approach that searched for justice and focus on human rights and morality. In 1917, leftist intellectual Randolph Bourne cautioned against crushing the “only genuinely precious thing in a nation, the hope and ardent idealism of its youth.”³ This thesis will demonstrate how the New Left preserved that idealism as it made important changes in the American social landscape and more locally at Purdue University.⁴

Throughout this thesis, I use the term, “New Left,” to describe Purdue activism. Who was the Purdue activist? My research revealed individuals who responded to what they saw wrong in their personal lives, at Purdue, and in society. They saw themselves as part of a revolution, joining a collective effort, changing themselves as they changed America and the world. I found little self-identification of Purdue activists as New Leftists. I have presumed to call them the New Left because they typify what many called “the

² Katherina Haris, “The Legacy and Lessons of the 1960s,” in *The New Left: Legacy and Continuity*, ed. Dimitrios Roussopoulos (New York: Black Rose Books, 2007), 87.

³ Haris.

⁴ Haris, 185.

movement,” building on ideals, not establishments and dogmas.⁵ United by problems rather than solutions, this burgeoning organization focused on social and political problems; specific goals and identity were in flux and of secondary importance. Sociologist C. Wright Mills and the Students for a Democratic Society made early references to the “New Left.” Mills writes that the Left, as contrasted with the Right, connoted politically-oriented criticism and demands for programs “guided morally by humanist and secular ideals of Western civilisation - above all, reason and freedom and justice.”⁶ The SDS’s Port Huron Statement described the university as the ideal place for New Left, an atmosphere of academia, controversy, and change.⁷ Purdue students added to the existing argumentation about this historical period. They saw their university as the perfect place for the dissemination of ideas and calls for change.

This thesis argues that Purdue, a socially and politically conservative institution in an equally conservative state, provides an ideal atmosphere in which to study the inception of the New Left. The insular nature of the campus and its relative isolation from outside groups provides an opportunity to study the genesis of the movement as it progressed from local concerns to a broader focus on national and international topics. Described by historian Robbie Lieberman as

⁵ Jean Molvin, “Underground Newspapers: Their purpose, people,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 20, 1969.

⁶ C. Wright Mills 1960, Letter to the New Left <https://www.marxists.org/subject/humanism/mills-c-wright/letter-new-left.htm> (accessed February 15, 2017). Mills wrote about a non-violent “moral upsurge” to describe the New Left.

⁷ Tom Hayden, Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society, 1962, Courtesy Office of Sen. Tom Hayden <http://coursesa.matrix.msu.edu/~hst306/documents/huron.html> (accessed February 15, 2017).

“prairie power,” student mobilization moved from local to larger struggles for power.⁸

This thesis also argues that student unrest at Purdue validates the portrayal of the New Left in America as a non-violent, moralistic movement that expanded from local concerns to broad concerns of national and foreign policy. I will show how the actions of Purdue students support the writings of scholars such as James P. O’Brien, Kenneth Keniston, Michael Lerner, and others. The Port Huron Statement challenged the post-war generation to dare the present, a time “of supposed prosperity, moral complacency and political manipulation,” to bring about social reform and alternatives.⁹ Some members of the American “establishment” and the mainstream media, from Governor Ronald Reagan to President Richard Nixon, fostered a stereotypical portrayal of the student activist as communist sympathizer or dangerous agitator.¹⁰ My research refutes that stereotypical characterization of student protesters as drug-abusing, violent youth who used civil rights and foreign issues as a pretext for anarchistic, lawless behavior. Purdue activists were less militant than those at other universities such as Kent State, Columbia, and Miami of Ohio that exhibited similar demographics. This thesis examines how Purdue activism differed from that of these other schools and fit the model described by Lieberman and other scholars I will cite.

⁸ Robbie Lieberman, *Prairie Power: Voices of 1960s Midwestern Student Protest* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), x, 1-25.

⁹ Hayden.

¹⁰ Joe Angio, *Nixon a Presidency Revealed* (History Channel, February 15, 2007), <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1943658> (accessed May 3, 2017). After police suppressed violent Berkeley protesters in 1970, Reagan reportedly stated, "If it takes a bloodbath, let's get it over with."

Finally, this thesis demonstrates how dialogue and cooperation between the students and administration resulted in positive change at Purdue. Many portraits of 1960s student unrest portray an adversarial relationship between students and university authority. Not all students and members of the administration showed a willingness to work together, and some issues brought conflict and hostility, but the effort toward compromise from both groups resulted in change. The positive impact of the New Left at Purdue cannot be denied.

As I researched this topic, I relied heavily on the papers of Dr. Barbara Cook, Purdue Dean of Women from 1980 - 1987. Dr. Cook maintained files of internal memoranda, university flyers, newspaper articles, and a personally annotated timeline of events relevant to the student protest movement. Dr. Cook, who worked in the Office of Student Counseling from 1956 until she assumed the position of dean, maintained detailed notes and comments about student unrest.¹¹ I also referred to the papers of William Buffington, professor of foreign language and literature who maintained a collection of important protest literature that concentrates mainly on the years 1969 – 1970. Dr. Buffington maintained a variety of clippings and other correspondence as well as newspapers and other printed material. I also researched *The Purdue Exponent*, the campus newspaper, a rich source of campus and national news as well as student and newspaper editorials. The paper provides a unique, although admittedly sometimes biased, account of the dynamic events at Purdue from 1968 - 1970.

¹¹ "Barbara I. Cook" Jconline
<http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/jconline/obituary.aspx?pid=164161920> (accessed April 10, 2017).

During this time period, many institutions of higher learning did not maintain student information such as the racial makeup of students and numbers of recipients of financial aid. I was unable to find data to assess actual numbers of student activists or the overall percentage of students who identified themselves as New Left or other political movements. I could not distinguish numbers of female or African American activists. Identities of individual students, such as Debra Cabbell and Homer and Linda LaRue and Pam King are important in demonstrating the inclusive nature of the movement but do little to reveal how prevalent these groups were. Further research concentrating on personal interviews could reveal anecdotal information relevant to this missing information. I chose to begin my study with 1968 because of the significant domestic and foreign events of that year.¹² My research did not reveal incidents of sit-ins or other organized New Left demonstrations at Purdue prior to those years.

In Chapter 1, I argue that students reveal the genesis of New Left organization by drawing attention to local issues of equality and the need for an updated Student Code of Conduct, ultimately expanding their activism to the Greater Lafayette Human Relations Commission and the Placement Office's support of the American defense industry. In Chapter 2, I describe the New Left and civil rights and black activism. I show how Purdue black activists incorporated the goals and aspirations of the civil rights movement and the New Left in their

¹² Among other events, students beginning schools in September, 1968, had knowledge of the North Korea attack of the U.S.S. Pueblo, assassination of civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr. and Democratic political candidate Robert F. Kennedy, and the stepped up activity of the North Vietnamese in the Tet Offensive.

efforts to bring recognition of black history and equity to the campus. In Chapter 3, I demonstrate how student activism extended beyond West Lafayette to protests against a state-wide cutback of higher education funding and how Purdue students took the lead in organizing demonstrations at the statehouse. Although activism resulted in the arrest of 229 students on campus, the overall temper of protest remained peaceful. In Chapter 4, I show even greater broadening of student focus to national events, the escalation of the Vietnam War and the Kent State shootings, and increased organization and challenge of authority. Anti-war protest coalesce goals of fairness and free speech as protesters question the university's ROTC program while indicting the national government and the disingenuous and corruption of the Nixon administration.

I initially began this investigation to demonstrate how different the Purdue student activists were when compared to students of other institutions of higher learning. I discovered that Purdue students typified the true New Left spirit, as demonstrated in other schools of the Midwest. Their actions and impact closely mirrored the New Left's inception as uttered in the Port Huron Statement and described by various scholars who have written about the era.

Many so-called "Baby Boomers," people born between 1946 and 1964, rejected material culture in favor of "enjoyment, personal fulfillment, new cultural expression, . . . forms of individualism which promoted the rights of the individual which liberals found difficult to understand." This focus on equality

regarded the inherited hierarchical systems of government and universities to be “vehicles that crushed human potential.”¹³

During the Cold War, America’s seeming disparity between racist action and cultural racism and the ideals of democracy made many of its own people, as well as the world, question its people’s sincerity. The goals and actions of American’s foreign policy were on trial. How could a nation that segregated its schools and military effectively fight for human rights in other nations? The traditional, historic “narrative” of a democratic America undergoing reform had been marred by racial violence and injustice.¹⁴ The New Left “Movement” capitalized on that inconsistency and sought to answer it with a radical interpretation of American democracy.¹⁵

The American New Left of the 1960s developed, in part, from the Democratic liberalism of Franklin D. Roosevelt’s administration that increased federal power and altered the traditional relationship between government and citizens with programs such as social security. During Dwight D. Eisenhower’s administration, liberals demanded government activism in economic growth and public sector funding.¹⁶ In 1961, President John F. Kennedy challenged Americans to “ask what you can do for your country.” College students began to “come alive.” The New Left began to take form, building its activist ideas on Old Left ideals but

¹³ Haris, 90; “Baby Boomers,” History.com, 2010, <http://www.history.com/topics/baby-boomers>, (accessed December 10, 2016).

¹⁴ Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 8, 93.

¹⁵ Haris, 89-90.

¹⁶ Terry Anderson, *The Sixties*, 2d ed. (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2004), 45.

straying from government-led and doctrinal programs.¹⁷ Campus youth around the nation began “organizing, questioning, and debating,” joining movements such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the conservative Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). Students frequented coffeehouses where folk music championed civil rights.¹⁸ President Lyndon Johnson’s administration continued to inspire the reform spirit with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and The War on Poverty.¹⁹

The New Left built its foundation on two ideals, civil rights and the freedom of speech. It drew inspiration from the civil rights movement and civil disobedience of the 1950s and the 1960s.²⁰ The Earl Warren-led Supreme Court supported the New Left philosophy with decisions championing civil rights (*Brown. v. Board of Education*), political and personal liberty (*Loving v. Virginia*), egalitarianism (*Baker v. Carr*), and the right to privacy (*Miranda v. Arizona*).²¹

African-American university students exerted more and more influence on campus activists as civil rights issues commanded national headlines and the New Left gained strength. This increase in black activism coincided with federal

¹⁷ Anderson, 25.

¹⁸ Anderson, 25.

¹⁹ Anderson, 50-51. Since the Great Depression, many Americans believed the government should help impoverished Americans. Edward R. Murrow’s televised documentary “Harvest of Shame” and other news coverage brought the issue to public awareness. Although Kennedy addressed the issue, his administration never set forth a comprehensive program. Johnson told his economic advisor Walter Heller to give the initiative “the highest priority.”

²⁰ Anderson, 19-21. Although inspired by the civil rights movement, the New Left was almost exclusively white; Anderson, 213-215. Anderson describes the civil rights movement in detail but never indicates that black leaders took ascendancy in the New Left Movement. This could be a function of prejudicial attitudes by the largely white, middle to upper-class makeup of the New Left or the singularity of the civil rights movement and its need to focus on the issues that so directly affected minorities.

²¹ Anderson, 19-44, 45-51.

legislation aimed at ending “exclusionary practices” for African Americans in all walks of life. Numbers of African Americans at formerly all-white institutions showed significant increase in enrollment in the late 1960s and early 1970s.²² As students directed their attention toward anti-war protests in the late 1960s, the faculty-led “Teach-In” joined the “Sit-In.”²³ Identification of all African American activism of this time period with the New Left is too broad a generalization. What is certain, however, is that the civil rights movement inspired the New Left and disrupted American culture, bringing disillusionment full circle to organized opposition.²⁴ Opposition to discriminatory actions took different forms during the 1950s through the 1970s, but goals were consistent with many of the New Left visions.

Civil rights activists such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Greensboro Four, a group of black students in Greensboro, North Carolina, provided a nonviolent model for New Left students.²⁵ Just as compelling was their powerful message

²² Shaun R. Harper, Lori D. Patton, Ontario S. Wooden, “Access and Equity for African American Students in Higher Education: A Critical Race Historical Analysis of Policy Efforts,” *Journal of Higher Education*, 80(4), 389-414; U.S Harper, S. R., Patton, L. D., & Wooden, O. S., 2009, http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1210&context=gse_pubs (accessed December 28, 2016). President John F. Kennedy’s proposal called affirmative action brought aggressive actions to end “exclusionary practices” for African Americans in all aspects of American life. In 1965, U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson signed of Executive Order 11246, requiring federal contractors to increase the number of minority employees. Affirmative Action was also enacted this year. These actions affected African American participation in higher education and attendance in formerly all-white institutions. Black enrollment at major colleges and universities would begin to show “noticeable increases” in the late 1960s and early 1970s. “Kelly and Lewis (2000) report that Black enrollments increased from 27% in 1972 to 34% in 1976, before dropping steadily during the subsequent decade.”

²³ Anderson, 19-22, 64-65. When four African American college students refused to move from a Greensboro, North Carolina Woolworth lunch counter, the Sit-In was born. In 1965, the first campus anti-war movement achieved attention when 50 University of Michigan professors held a Teach-In where college professors lectured and sponsored debates to encourage discussion about American foreign policy.

²⁴ Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage*, Revised ed. (New York: Bantam Books, 1993), 83.

²⁵ Anderson, 15-21.

about the importance of being proactive and taking action.²⁶ Early campus protesters believed that they must be the moral conscience of society by speaking out and effecting change.²⁷ In 1999, interviewing participants over twenty years after the movement, Rebecca Klatch charted similarities on both the left and the right and discovered young people who were “serious and idealistic, deeply committed to their principles, and dedicated to creating social change.”²⁸

Historian James P. O’Brien identifies the New Left as mostly middle class and moralistic, distinguishable from the later Yippies and the Weathermen.²⁹ It was built on unorthodoxy and called for college students to change the world. The university, repository of intellectual resources, was a logical place to begin the transformation.³⁰ Philosopher and activist Charles Meconis concurs. American activists of this era were not dangerous radicals but moral people of conscience willing to take a stand.³¹ Sociologist Todd Gitlin describes the New Left as a “scatter of campus organizers-intellectuals” emerging from civil rights activism and, in particular, youth participation in that movement during the 1950s and

²⁶ Gitlin, 84.

²⁷ James P. O’Brien, “The Development of the New Left,” *American Academy of Political and Social Science* (May 1, 1971): 15-25.

²⁸ Klatch, Rebecca E., *A Generation Divided: The New Left, the New Right, and the 1960s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 3.

²⁹ Anderson, 120-123, 162. Yippies, “Young Radical Hippies” was the creation of Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin. The group’s outrageous antics captured the attention of the nation and the press. Terry Anderson describes the movement as “both protest and put-on, political wisecracks who loved attention.” They were notorious for their disruption of the 1968 Democratic Convention. The Weathermen was an offshoot of the SDS that formed after the Students for a Democratic Society disintegrated. The Weathermen was notorious for outrageous, “senseless” violence.

³⁰ O’Brien, 17. “The basic rationale for participation in the student movement was not a personal sense of oppression but a feeling that, as an Oberlin student put it, the student ‘can and must be the one to criticize, to examine.’” This interpretation of the New Left elevates it from the reputation of mindless violence that often characterized media portrayal.

³¹ Charles A. Meconis, “Religion and Radicalism: The American “Catholic Left” As a Social Social Movement, 1961-1975,” (Columbia University Thesis, Ph.D., 1977).

early 1960s. Its endorsement of both “formal and social democracy” won many converts, and with America’s mounting involvement in Vietnam, the movement garnered more support, particularly on college campuses.³²

Yale professors Kenneth Keniston and Michael Lerner also dispel some of the common myths and stereotypic notions about New Left student activism in “Campus Characteristics and Campus Unrest.”³³ The authors refute the notion that all campus protest was violent, that campus discipline erred in being too permissive or repressive, and that students cared only about self-serving goals. They contend that the vast majority of protests were orderly and in compliance with First Amendment parameters, with property damage occurring on less than 7 percent of campuses. They describe campus unrest of the late sixties as increasingly concerned with social and political “off-campus” issues as compared to 1964/1965 when only 34 percent of activists addressed issues outside campus concerns.³⁴

In their study “The Changing Social Base of the American Student Movement,” University of California sociology professors Milton Mankoff and Richard Flacks concur. The core campus New Left activist exhibited a non-violent, politically-oriented bent.³⁵ Coming from diverse backgrounds, activists were united by a “generational consciousness” based on perceived social inequity

³² Gitlin, 1-2. Gitlin describes how many of the middle class children of the fifties searched for heroes. Gitlin joined the New Left and was elected president of the Students for a Democratic Society at Harvard.

³³ Kenneth Keniston and Michael Lerner, “Campus Characteristics and Campus Unrest,” *American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, (May 1, 1971) 39-53.

³⁴ Keniston and Lerner, 41.

³⁵ Milton Mankoff and Richard Flacks, “The Changing Social Base of the American Student Movement,” *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 395 (May 1, 1971): 54-67. The authors contend that the secluded enclave of the university provided a perfect place for ideas and organizations to form.

and the need for change.³⁶ As the “youth revolt” moved off campus, however, new recruits exhibited a more violent predilection and less politicized focus, but for the most part, the New Left university activist shunned violence and remained issue-oriented.³⁷

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was the most publicized and notable of the New Left organizations of the late 1950s and early 1960s. It called for comprehensive political change through a overhauling of the American culture.³⁸ The Port Huron manifesto advocated “fraternity and honesty” along with “love, reflectiveness, reason, and creativity,” a social as well as a political revolution.³⁹ The movement began in the 1950s as the Social-Democratic Student League for Industrial Democracy but moved away from its early identity as it discarded the more socialistic “Old Left” ideology. In 1959, in an effort to recruit more college youth, the acting director of the Social-Democratic Student League for Industrial Democracy, Aryeh Neier, changed the name to Students for a Democratic Society.⁴⁰ The newly-named SDS moved away from establishment politics and workers’ rights. Its 1962 Port Huron Statement defined the unique character and focus of the New Left: “We are people of this generation, bred in at

³⁶ Mankoff and Flacks, 64.

³⁷ Mankoff and Flacks, 66. As the movement radicalized, those who wanted to pervert the aims of the cause could not exist within the confines of the university, either because of the stated focus of the student culture or the restrictions implied within the confines of the school.

³⁸ Philip Altbach and Patti Peterson, “Before Berkeley: Historical Perspectives on American Student Activism,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 395 (May 1, 1971): 12.

³⁹ Douglas C. Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 250-251.

⁴⁰ Altbach and Peterson, 12; Rich Rothstein, “Representative Democracy in SDS,” in *Toward a History of the New Left* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1989) 49-50; Aryeh Neier, *Taking Liberties: Four Decades in the Struggle for Rights* (Cambridge, MA, Perseus Books, 2003), Introduction xx. Significantly, one of the early actions of the SDS was support of the Greensboro Five. Later, Tom Hayden took over leadership of the group.

least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably at the world we inherit.”⁴¹ The SDS advocated civil rights, equal opportunity, personal liberties, and an emphasis on “a dissident set of values” to bring about significant political change.⁴² The New Left offered something unique and fresh, and this new focus attracted a wide array of white, middle class students.”⁴³ It was this demographic that made up the Purdue activists of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Violent activity at American universities made headlines, leading to a negative image of the 1960s student activist. On the West Coast, the University of California, Berkeley, was the site of the first and possibly most significant major student revolt of the 1960s, when, in 1964, university officials restricted promotion of “off-campus” causes. Citing the administration’s violation of First Amendment rights and unfair suspensions, students impounded a police car for the better part of an afternoon and later shut down an administration building.⁴⁴ The Free Speech Movement (FSM) began at Berkeley in 1964 and had a marked effect on the minds and actions of university students. Berkeley students first protested the school ban on the political activities on campus, and the crusade soon branched out to encompass free speech as well as academic freedom.⁴⁵ Berkeley president Clark Kerr barred students from disseminating political literature on campus. Kerr represented the liberal administration’s empty rhetoric of “equality and justice” that imposed arbitrary rules and censorship under the

⁴¹ Anderson, 59.

⁴² Rossinow, 250-251.

⁴³ Van Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretative History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁴⁴ Anderson, 56-57.

⁴⁵ Anderson, 56.

principle of *in loco parentis*, contrasting sharply with the ideas of the New Left.⁴⁶

The Free Speech Movement attracted a wide array of student followers from the Socialist left to Barry Goldwater adherents. Mathematics student, Mario Savio, united the movement with inspiring words that challenged the liberal authorities: “There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part . . . you've got to put your bodies upon the gears, upon the levers, and you've got to make it stop.” The crowd sang “We Shall Overcome” with Joan Baez, occupied Sproul Hall, and shut down the university administration building. Governor Pat Brown sent in 600 police who arrested over 700 students, the “largest mass arrest in California history.” President Kerr soon backed down after he polled the faculty, many of whom supported the students.⁴⁷

In reaction to Savio and the power of the FSM, the Berkeley Board of Regents instilled a sympathetic Martin Meyerson as chancellor who allowed the FSM members to distribute literature and recruit new members. University students and administrators throughout the nation learned a lasting lesson about the power of “collective action” and its effect on political and civil rights. This effort soon spread throughout the nation, inspiring students to take an active role in their political and constitutional freedom.⁴⁸

On April 23, 1968 on the East Coast, thousands of radicalized Columbia students and faculty went on strike, effectively shutting down the University for

⁴⁶ Robert Buzzanco, *Vietnam and the Transformation of American Life* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 160-161.

⁴⁷ Anderson, 56, 57.

⁴⁸ Buzzanco, 159-163.

the remainder of the semester, an action that came to symbolize the extremist branch of the New Left.⁴⁹ In the Midwest, on October 18, 1968, students at the University of Wisconsin prevented a Dow Chemical Company recruiter from accessing campus buildings. Police used tear gas and clubs, whereupon thousands of students surrounded the police, vandalized cars, and “fought back with rocks and bricks sending seven policemen to the hospital.”⁵⁰ Activist students at Miami of Ohio in Oxford protested the suspension of students who had trespassed in the Rowan Hall armory. Demonstrators opened water faucets in 14 campus buildings, turning on “water faucets in lavatories, shower rooms, and laundromats,” draining water out of Oxford's water towers, flooding floors, overflowing sewers, and drastically reducing water pressure. Student actions resulted in \$5,000 in damage and left the city helpless in the event of a fire.⁵¹ These students at Berkeley, Columbia, and Miami of Ohio contrasted with the more typical New Left activist represented by the Purdue New Left.

The New Left garnered public support against the escalation of the Vietnam War and publicized the “complicity of industry and the academic community” with the defense industry.⁵² Its effect became evident in mainstream criticism of inflated military budgets and renewed attention on social and political issues such as poverty and racial and gender injustice. It awakened America to the peril of its “worship of technology” and the inherent environmental perils. The New Left,

⁴⁹ Nancy Biberman et. al., “Columbia 1968,” (New York: Columbia University, January 1, 2014) <http://www.columbia1968.com/history> (accessed July 9, 2014).

⁵⁰ Gitlin, 254.

⁵¹ Miami University Library, The Miami Years, “Chapter XXVI: Campus Crisis,” <http://www.lib.miamioh.edu/my/miamiyearsXXVI.html> (accessed December 28, 2016).

⁵² John P. Diggins, *The American Left in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1973), 185.

along with the hippies and the counterculture, invoked a “new consciousness” that would forever change America, if not the world.⁵³

The campus climate on the Purdue campus in 1968 reflects James O’Brien’s “new radicalism.”⁵⁴ Purdue student unrest focused on free speech and civil rights and was, for the most part, idealistic and peaceful. Robbie Lieberman, in her study *Prairie Power: Voices of 1960s Midwestern Protest*, studied student activism at universities in Illinois, Missouri, and Kansas, and like Purdue in the 1960s and 1970s, the institutions reveal a predominantly white, male-dominated, movement. Like their Purdue counterparts, these students employed non-violent tactics. One of Lieberman’s interviewees, Jeff Shero Nightbyrd, describes a decentralized, grassroots movement that allowed “the people” to decide. New Left organizations operated close to home, facilitating relevant decisions and workable policies for regional concerns, giving cohesion to the local movement as they brought attention to broader, national issues.⁵⁵

In this study, I use the terms “conservative” and “liberal” to indicate overall ideological behaviors and attitudes. A broad definition of a conservative philosophy is one that disposed to “maintain existing views, conditions, or institutions.”⁵⁶ Liberals, on the other hand, stand for the support of “social and political change.”⁵⁷ Applying these broad definitions, I maintain that Purdue and Indiana of the 1960s were conservative, maintaining traditional

⁵³ Diggins, 186.

⁵⁴ O’Brien, 15; *Robbie Lieberman, Prairie Power: Voices of 1960s Midwestern Protest* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004).

⁵⁵ Lieberman, 91.

⁵⁶ Conservative [Def. 3]. (n.d.). *Merriam-Webster Online* <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/conservative> (accessed December 28, 2016).

⁵⁷ Liberal. Word History. *Merriam-Webster Online* <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/liberal-meaning-origin-history> (accessed December 28, 2016).

governmental and social customs. As I use these terms, they transcend political definitions and political party association. To be sure, New Left liberals felt a stronger affiliation with the Democratic Party, but as I point out throughout this paper, this liberalism was not to be confused with the establishment “Old Left.” Conservatives, too, aligned most closely with the Republican Party. But liberal and conservative associations go beyond political identities.

In advancing the argument of Indiana’s conservative climate, I provide markers such as Indiana’s long-standing social and economic practices that have shown little evolution over the years. Further, Indiana and West Lafayette show a historical record of supporting politically conservative candidates in national elections. This conservative atmosphere in Indiana provides an ideal environment in which to study the inception of a new, liberal movement and philosophy. In this environment, it is possible to follow the movement as it grew from an inward-looking, local movement that changed focus to broader national and international concerns.

I refer to the “liberalization” of Purdue as the manifestation of the awareness and application of the principles of the New Left, what historian John Diggins refers to as a “psychoethical rather than a doctrinal” concept, building its identity on “personalism and humanism.” One of its main goals was “authenticity.”⁵⁸ The 1962 Port Huron Statement describes authenticity as the potential for “human independence,” a realization of “self-cultivation, self-direction, self-understanding, and creativity.” Young New Leftists, feeling alienated by Old Left liberalism and impersonal government institutions, sought to impose morality and

⁵⁸ Diggins, 161.

justice to society.⁵⁹ This new liberalization was the antidote to individual and social alienation. The search for authenticity was a quest for “inner wholeness.” It was democratic, springing from a place between communism and anticommunism, identified with both Christian liberalism and the demand for racial equality.⁶⁰ The “liberalization” of Purdue was the movement toward individual power and personal ethics, the denunciation of authoritarianism, the military industrial complex, and the university’s role *in loco parentis*.

Historian James H. Madison calls Indiana’s moderation and respect for tradition and pioneer forbears “the Indiana way.” Independent farmers, most hailing from the southern states and bringing their conservatism and provincial attitudes with them, looked to improve their lives by settling in Indiana.⁶¹ Historian Howard Peckham describes the unique preferences and prejudices of white Civil War era Hoosiers:

Specifically, at that time, Hoosiers detested slavery, Negroes, state indebtedness, drunkenness, laziness, and horse thieves. They were mildly suspicious of Catholics, foreigners, public schools, and government interference in local affairs. They were indifferent to the political rights of women . . . and to higher education at state expense. . . . After the shock of the Civil War, Hoosiers continued their rural life, participated intensively in politics, tolerated corrupt practices, saw fewer European immigrants than most other states, encouraged factories, and grew increasingly self-conscious of their own typicalness.⁶²

It was this “typicalness” that encouraged white Hoosier intolerance. Sharing a commonality of spirit and background, Hoosiers protected their provincial

⁵⁹ Hayden.

⁶⁰ Rossinow, 3-7.

⁶¹ James H. Madison, *The Indiana Way* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), xiii. Madison writes that the non-revolutionary nature of the state’s people precludes any “generational revolt.”

⁶² Howard H. Peckham, “A Bicentennial View,” in *Indiana History: A Book of Readings*, ed. Ralph D. Gray (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 431.

attitudes and mistrust of outsiders. By late nineteenth century, the state had the least number of foreign-born inhabitants when compared with states carved from the Northwest Territory.⁶³ By 1920, Indiana's population numbered 2,930,390, and the majority populated small towns and farms and worshipped at Protestant churches.⁶⁴ Indiana's revised 1851 constitution legislated racism and homogeneity in Article XIII by forbidding Negroes and mulattos from settling in the state.⁶⁵

In the 1920s, Hoosier intolerance evolved into a strong presence of the Ku Klux Klan. During the era following World War I, Indiana had the most powerful Ku Klux Klan presence in the nation, even electing a Klan member, Edward L. Jackson, as governor in 1924. This socially conservative terrorist organization made up of primarily white Protestants stood against "Catholics, Jews, African Americans, immorality, and drinking," and claimed to support law and order. Historian James Madison observes that Indiana's Klan "cannot be dismissed as either an aberration or as simply the insidious appeal of a fanatical few." At the same time, Madison cautions that its influence should not be interpreted as dominating the state or reflecting all Hoosier attitudes.⁶⁶ After a significant scandal involving a powerful Klansman, just two years after Jackson's election, the Klan lost its power within the state. There were attempts to revive it in the

⁶³ Madison, 173.

⁶⁴ Madison, 168-169. There were small numbers of Catholics and Jews in Indiana at that time as well.

⁶⁵ "Constitution of 1851 as Originally Written, Article 13 – Negroes and Mulattoes," *Indiana Historical Bureau* <http://www.in.gov/history/2858.htm> (accessed December 19, 2015). The Federal Civil Rights Act of April 9, 1866 established citizenship for African Americans. The Civil War amendments to the U.S. Constitution essentially invalidated this article.

⁶⁶ Peckham, 433; Madison, 289-95.

1960s and 1970s, but the Klan never regained its level of political influence in the state.⁶⁷

Indiana's voting record marks its conservatism. From 1896 through 1960, the Republican Party carried the state in all presidential elections with the exception of the election of 1912 when Indiana endorsed Woodrow Wilson, and in 1932 and 1936, when the state, along with an overwhelming majority of the nation, supported Franklin D. Roosevelt. Tippecanoe County, home of West Lafayette and Purdue, showed an even greater support of the Republican Party in 1960 and 1964. When the state supported Richard Nixon in 1960 with 55% of the popular vote, Tippecanoe County evidenced even stronger support with 63.5%. In 1964, although the Democrat Lyndon Johnson carried the state with 55.98 % of the vote, some Hoosiers strongly backed the ultra-conservative Barry Goldwater with 43.56% of the vote, while Tippecanoe County supported him with 48.3%, both figures significantly higher than the national average of 38.47%.⁶⁸

Current laws on the books continue to reflect Indiana's conservatism.⁶⁹ For example, Indiana law forbids the sale of liquor on Sundays.⁷⁰ Indiana's fiscal conservatism dates from its 1851 constitution. Article X, Section V of the Indiana

⁶⁷ "Ku Klux Klan in Indiana," Indiana State Library <http://www.in.gov/library/2848.htm> (accessed July 23, 2015).

⁶⁸ Kenneth Drexler, "U.S. Election Statistics: A Resource Guide," *The Library of Congress Web Guides* <https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/elections/statistics.html> (accessed September 20, 2015).

⁶⁹ Yael Ksander, "Retreat from the Scaffold." Indiana Public Media: Moment of Indiana History, (October 26, 2009) <https://indianapublicmedia.org/momentofindianahistory/retreat-scaffold/> (accessed November 15, 2015). Indiana has traditionally supported capital punishment for most of the state's history, swiftly reinstating it after the moratorium following *Furman v. Georgia* was overturned by *Gregg v. Georgia* in 1976.

⁷⁰ "Matthew Tully: Indiana has strictest -- and likely most contradictory -- Sunday alcohol-sales law in the nation," *The Indianapolis Star*, February 2, 2013. Big business special interest groups may be more responsible for the strength of these laws than any sense of morality among Hoosiers, however, since Indiana bars continue to do a good business on Sundays.

Constitution states, “No law shall authorize any debt to be contracted, on behalf of the State, except in the following cases: to meet casual deficits in the revenue; to pay the interest on the State debt; to repel invasion, suppress insurrection, or, if hostilities be threatened, provide for the public defense.”⁷¹ The state elected a long string of fiscally conservative governors who promoted the virtues of state surpluses.⁷² And in 2015, Indiana legislators passed the state version of the national Religious Freedom Restoration Act.⁷³

Purdue University has strong military roots, giving it a strong conservative connection with Republicans and the political right. As the only Morrill Land Grant institution in Indiana, Purdue readily accepted the stated mission of establishing “without excluding other scientific and classical studies and military tactics such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic

⁷¹ “Constitution of 1851 as originally written, Article 10 – Finance,” *Indiana Historical Bureau*. <http://www.in.gov/history/2861.htm> (accessed July 24, 2015).

⁷² Linda Gugin and James E. St.Claire, ed. *The Governors of Indiana*. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2005).

⁷³ “RFRA reaction ranges from ‘sad day’ and ‘harmful’ to ‘right thing to do,’” *Indianapolis Star*, April 3, 2013 http://www.indystar.com/story/news/politics/2015/03/26/religious-freedom-bill-reaction-sad-day-harmful-blattantly-discriminatory/70487072/?from=global&sessionKey=&autologin_ (accessed July, 14, 2015). Continuing its conservative tradition, Indiana more recently made national headlines by passing RFRA, the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. The law provides that “a state or local government action may not substantially burden a person's right to the exercise of religion unless it is demonstrated that applying the burden to the person's exercise of religion is: (1) essential to further a compelling governmental interest; and (2) the least restrictive means of furthering the compelling governmental interest.” National backlash accused Hoosiers of a ploy to refuse equal treatment under the law to the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender community, although Indiana Governor Mike Pence defended the law and refuted the idea that it sanctioned discrimination. Freedom Indiana, The American Civil Liberties Union, and the Democratic National Committee were among the groups who opposed the act, calling it “a sad day for Indiana” and expressing deep disappointment at the refusal of the governor and state lawmakers to ignore the more than 10,000 people who signed petitions against the bill.

CNN Politics, “Indiana governor signs amended ‘religious freedom law,’” <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2015/04/02/indiana-religious-freedom-law-deal-gay-discrimination/70819106/> (accessed July 14, 2015). In response to national and state outcry, the governor signed an amended version of the law. Senate President Pro Tem David Long, said the revised law “unequivocally state[s] that Indiana’s (religious freedom law does not and will not be able to discriminate against anyone, anywhere at any time.” The new law is the first time an Indiana law mentions sexual orientation and gender identity.

arts. . . .to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes...”⁷⁴

From its inception, Purdue’s curriculum reflected that focus with an emphasis on agriculture, technology, and business and science. Under the tenure of second president Abram C. Shortridge (1874-1875), faculty member Harvey Washington Wiley established the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC), and by 1913, Purdue added a campus armory.⁷⁵ In 1918, the university replaced the old armory with a new one for ROTC headquarters, classrooms, and military drill. During World War I, the school organized a Student Army Training Corps through a university contract with the United States War Department. Under that contract, Purdue agreed to “train, subsist, and house” 1,500 men from October 1, 1918 to June 30, 1919.⁷⁶

Purdue continued its involvement in military training and research during World War II. In 1939, as war broke out in Europe, President Edward C. Elliott (1922-1945) entreated his students to actively support the war effort. Student enrollment dropped from 8,373 to 6,020 in 1944-1945 as students traded books for military uniforms, and the formerly quiet, academic atmosphere changed to that of a “major military training base.”⁷⁷ During the war, Cary Quadrangle housed the Navy school for electricians, graduating some 6,000 cadets by 1945. The Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps and the Army Specialized Training Program also established centers there in 1943. Purdue scientists performed

⁷⁴ “Transcript of Morrill Act (1862),” Our Documents.Gov. <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=33&page=transcript> (accessed July 30, 2014).

⁷⁵ Topping, 101-102, 167.

⁷⁶ Topping, 176.

⁷⁷ Topping, 230.

classified, government work.⁷⁸ In addition, Purdue held a six-month class in personnel administration for the Women's Army Corps officers. In 1945, the Purdue Airport hosted Air Force, Navy, and War Training Service drills. By the war's end, 17,500 Purdue staff members and alumni had served in some capacity in the armed forces.⁷⁹

Purdue was not alone in its military support. By 1893, seventy-nine colleges and universities offered some type of military schooling, although the type of instruction varied by state and institution.⁸⁰ Indiana University exhibited a similar dedication to national defense.⁸¹ The importance of Purdue's fidelity to the war effort is not only as a marker of its conservatism but as a significant matter about which New Left protestors took issue.

After World War II, in 1946, the University chose as its ninth president a man with a traditional, conservative background, as exemplified by his interests and involvement in national defense.⁸² Ironically, it was during his tenure that both

⁷⁸ Topping, 239, 241. Purdue scientists worked on fluorination and atomic energy as well as research to develop synthetic rubber and radar microwave technology.

⁷⁹ Topping, 240; "Unit History and Awards: The 1960s."

⁸⁰ John Whiteclay Chambers, *The Oxford companion to American military history*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). The 1960s and 1970s were not the first time the country protested military buildup. For example, Chambers explains how in the "antiwar and antimilitary mood of the 1920s and early 1930s, peace activists, educators, and clergy, including John Dewey and Oswald Garrison Villard, formed the Committee on Militarism in Education, to challenge ROTC and military drill programs in high schools. The committee was more successful at the secondary schools than in higher education, for the Supreme Court upheld the right of states to make military training compulsory in state colleges. With the adoption of the draft and the buildup of the army in 1940–41, ROTC graduates provided many of the required junior officers."

⁸¹ "I.U. Army ROTC" https://www.indiana.edu/~rotc/?page_id=41 (accessed December 28, 2016). In December 1964, the Indiana University Student Senate brought pressure on the school to render the ROTC program optional; therefore, for the first time in 50 years, ROTC became an optional program, leading to an almost 60% decrease in enrollment. The program remained, however, thanks in part to President Herman B. Wells and administrators who argued to maintain the program on campus.

⁸² Traditional here implies a patriarchal administration-student relationship. The school assumes the role of *in loco parentis*. A liberal transformation connotes the relinquishment of power to the student body.

students and administrators began to reveal a more liberal character, responding, in part, to changes initiated by the New Left. The leadership of President Hovde played a prominent role in many of the events described in this thesis.

Frederick L. Hovde came to the school with strong academic, athletic, and national defense affiliations. A Pennsylvania native and former wartime executive of the National Defense Research Committee, Hovde was a good fit for the politically conservative school.⁸³ He would become Purdue's longest standing president to date, serving in that office from 1946 to 1972, reigning during the turbulent years when the New Left gained ascendancy at the school.⁸⁴ Hovde presided during Purdue's greatest growth and led it to become a leading research institution. Under his supervision, the school grew from a student body of 5,628 to 25,582, and its budget increased from \$12.7 to \$136 million. This noteworthy growth reflected a national trend. Thomas Brock points out how, beginning in the mid to late 1960s, changes in federal policy, coupled with big changes in public attitudes, made higher education available to more people than ever. Although a reflection of a nation-wide trend, this dramatic increase in numbers at Purdue gives testament to the challenges Hovde faced and his leadership skills in navigating the school through a time of great change.⁸⁵

⁸³ Topping, 249-255.

⁸⁴ The term "turbulent" refers to the mood of the nation as well as the campus. The president of Purdue faced many challenges in steering the university through a time when students called into questions the time-tested traditions of society and the university culture.

⁸⁵ Purdue University, "Purdue Past Presidents: Frederick L. Hovde, 1946-1971." <http://www.purdue.edu/purdue/about/presidents.html> (accessed December 7, 2015) ; Thomas Brock, "Young Adults and Higher Education: Barriers and Breakthroughs to Success," *The Future of Children Princeton Brookings* <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ883081> (accessed December 28, 2016). Beginning in the mid to late 1960s, changes in federal policy, coupled with big changes in public attitudes, made higher education to more people than ever. The most influential act was the 1965 Higher Education Act because it added "extended need-based

A Rhodes Scholar and athlete, Hovde exemplified the ideal Purdue student. He earned degrees in chemical engineering at the University of Minnesota and physical chemistry at Oxford University. He was star quarterback at Minnesota and excelled at rugby and track at Oxford. After college, Hovde acted as part of a three-man envoy that traveled to Britain in 1941 to share information about atomic weaponry between the two nations. For his efforts during the war, Hovde was awarded with the President's Medal for Merit and the King's Medal for Service in the Cause of Freedom.⁸⁶

The traditional environment at Purdue was built on a male-dominated business- and science-based curriculum and typically reflected a predominantly male student body. Hovde strengthened the study of humanities at Purdue, welcoming both men and women; by 1960, Purdue conferred its first Bachelor of Arts degree. In 1962, the school approved graduate studies in the humanities, and reorganization soon produced separate schools of Science, Humanities, Social Science, and Education.⁸⁷ This change in academics becomes significant in light

financial assistance" to the general population. Also, beginning in 1963, began increasing the creation of facilities for community and historically black colleges and universities. Along with this, Federal spending on higher education increased dramatically from \$655 million in 1956 to \$3.5 billion in 1966. The Civil Rights movement also challenged ingrained discriminatory educational practices, particularly in the South. The 1964 Civil Rights Act and programs of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society enabled more minority and low-income students to attend school. Finally, as the baby boom generation reached maturity, many entered universities. The "open admissions" policy as implemented by many community colleges allowed all high school graduates to attend college.

This growth in student numbers was part of a national trend, due, in part, to laws such as the 1965 Higher Education Act, reflection of changes in federal policy on higher education spending. Alterations in public attitudes that admitted post-secondary education to greater numbers including women and minorities came with the civil rights movement and the maturity of the baby boom generation.

⁸⁶ Walter H. Waggoner, "Frederick L. Hovde, 75, former president of Purdue," *New York Times*, March 2, 1983 <http://www.nytimes.com/1983/03/02/obituaries/fredrick-lawson-hovde-75-former-president-of-purdue.html> (accessed December 11, 2015).

⁸⁷ Topping, 321.

of studies showing a link between the study of humanities and student activism. Roger M. Kahn and William J. Bowers, writing in the 1960s, found a positive correlation: Humanities students tended to be more politically active. Further, schools that promote critical thinking through such disciplines tend to promote activism.⁸⁸ From 1965 on, under Hovde's guidance, the numbers of humanities majors continued to grow.⁸⁹ Students majoring in philosophy, literature, religion, art, music, history and language grew from 21.9% in 1965 to 23.1% in 1966, 24.9% in 1967, 33.8% in 1968, finally climbing to 34.4% in 1970.⁹⁰

The number of female students at Purdue increased gradually as well, with women representing just over one-fourth of the undergraduate population in 1966 and increasing to 34.4% in 1970.⁹¹ By comparison, in March, 1964 at Indiana University, almost half (47.9%) of I.U.'s undergraduate students majored in humanities, and by 1968-1969, 44.3% of its enrollees were women.⁹² Prior to 1965, American colleges and universities were virtually the exclusive province of upper and middle-class males, due, in part to the somewhat prejudicial attitudes

⁸⁸ Roger M. Kahn and William J. Bowers. "The Social Context of the Rank-and-File Student Activist: A Test of Four Hypotheses," *Sociology of Education* 43, no. 1 (1970): 48-53.

⁸⁹ The growth in numbers of humanities students and female graduates indicates, at least anecdotally, a causative relationship. Additional quantitative study is required to conclusively show a positive correlation; however, numbers of engineering and business students reflected more male students.

⁹⁰ 1968-1969 Purdue University Annual Report, Enrollment Tables I-V, Purdue University Archives and Special Collections Library.

⁹¹ 1968-1969 Purdue University Annual Report, Enrollment Tables I-V.

⁹² "Comparative Distribution of Undergraduate Students by College/Division for Selected Years," Indiana University Archives Library (accessed September 19, 2015); Phone conversations with Purdue Office of Fraternities and Sororities and Financial Aid Office, October, 2015 through January, 2016. Information about percentages of students receiving financial aid and those enrolled in sororities and fraternities would lend insight into the attitudes and backgrounds of its students. Unfortunately, neither school has access to those numbers for the time period in question; E-mail from Sarah Cohen, Indiana University Library Archivist, November 30, 2015. Information for financial aid and enrollment statistics for sororities and fraternities from Indiana University was most likely "coded" into the system and is not accessible.

about women's roles and cultural traditions. Economic and racial barriers collapsed, and the "gender balance" favoring male students reversed between the years of 1970 and 2005.⁹³ Purdue's increase in female student admissions is an indication of a progressive trend that was not realized nationally until the mid to late 1970s.⁹⁴

During the 1960s, many Americans, particularly college students, actively questioned issues of civil rights and American foreign policy.⁹⁵ Purdue students challenged university mores and the rules that mandated Reserve Officer Training Corps training for underclassmen.⁹⁶ Interested groups of students directed their attention to social issues within and beyond the confines of the university. Ironically, as they did, they actualized the "new university" envisioned by fifth president Winthrop Stone (1900-1927) who had encouraged the university student to "strengthen society, culture, and politics via the construction of associations with other like-minded individuals."⁹⁷ Fifty years after Stone's advice, organized protests attracted the attention of administrators and the Indiana General Assembly as students formed "associations of like-minded individuals" to bring about change in the middle of the twentieth century.

⁹³ Thomas Brock, "Young Adults and Higher Education: Barriers and Breakthroughs to Success," *The Future of Children Princeton Brookings* (accessed December 28, 2016).

⁹⁴ Katie McLaughlin, "5 things women couldn't do in the 1960s," CNN <http://www.cnn.com/2014/08/07/living/sixties-women-5-things/> (accessed February 19, 2017). Yale and Princeton did not accept women students until 1969, and Harvard did not admit females until 1977. The University of Pennsylvania and Cornell admitted women in 1876 and 1870 respectively.

⁹⁵ Christopher A. Huff, "Student Movements of the 1960s," New Georgia Encyclopedia, December 11, 2015 <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/student-movements-1960s> (accessed December 12, 2016).

⁹⁶ Topping, 328.

⁹⁷ Topping, 148-149. An avid outdoorsman, Stone died in a mountain climbing accident in 192; Thomas Brock.

Hovde led Purdue during a politically contentious period in our nation when students questioned the university's established assumption of *in loco parentis*, challenged the status quo wherein students had little influence in policy, and demanded a voice in university governance and decision making. During this time, the school was governed by a homogeneous Board of Trustees, all of whom were male with strong connections with wealthy white business interests, reflecting the conservative tradition and stability that Purdue had come to represent. For example, Aloysius J. Rumely, Robert E. Heine, and William Hillenbrand were active in both business and politics. Rumely, president of La Porte Foundry and later Republican mayor of that city, served on the Board from 1968 through 1971.⁹⁸ Purdue pharmacy graduate Heine served as Vice President of Pharmaceutical Operations at Eli Lilly Company, retiring in 1973. He was also a member of the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights and the boards of Junior Achievement, Methodist Hospital, and the Children's Museum.⁹⁹ William Hillenbrand, founder of Hillenbrand Industries, a major supplier of hospital equipment and caskets, also served as delegate to the 1964 Democratic National Convention as Chairman of Indiana's 9th District.¹⁰⁰ Purdue graduate Thomas E. Graham worked in agricultural education throughout the state and as executive of

⁹⁸ "LaPorte's wounded mayor dies," *The Indianapolis Star*, Friday, November 26, 1982 <http://indystar.newspapers.com/image/106203672/?terms=Aloysius%2BRumely%2C%2BJr> (accessed December 17, 2015).

⁹⁹ "Robert Heine was Lilly executive, president of Purdue board of trustees," *The Indianapolis Star*, December 28, 1994 <http://indystar.newspapers.com/image/106503050/?terms=%22Robert%2BE.%2BHeine%2B%22Obituary%22> (accessed December 17, 2015).

¹⁰⁰ "William A. Hillenbrand, businessman, dies at 81," *The Indianapolis Star*, December 11, 1986 <http://indystar.newspapers.com/image/106242179/?terms=William%2BHillenbrand> (accessed December 17, 2015).

Graham Farms, Inc. and Graham Cheese Corporation.¹⁰¹ Richard M. Brumfield of Princeton, Indiana studied engineering at Purdue and owned and served as president of Potter and Brumfield, America's largest maker of electrical relays.¹⁰² President and Chairman of the Board of plastic fabricator Rostone Corporation, Maurice G. Knoy, served five terms on Purdue's board.¹⁰³ During the years of student protest between 1968 and 1970, Purdue's male-dominated, conservative Board of Trustees was challenged to respond to the New Left on campus.

I began this project with the goal of demonstrating how Purdue was a unique conservative institution that fostered, supported, and reacted to liberal student protest. As I continued my research, I found that in many ways, Purdue was far from unique. The movement was comprised of mostly middle-class students who followed the evolution of the national movement, broadening their concerns from local matters to national issues. When compared to the demographically similar schools of Miami of Ohio, Columbia University, Kent State, and Wisconsin, Purdue stands out as singularly nonviolent, and goal-oriented. When compared to other Midwestern schools, however, Purdue supports the work of late twentieth-century scholars who portray the New Left protests as uniquely

¹⁰¹ Purdue Agricultural Alumni Association
file:///C:/Users/Richard/Documents/H7501/research%20other%20schools/background,%20board%20of%20trustees/COD%20-%20Thomas%20E.%20Graham.html (accessed December 11, 2015).

¹⁰² "Potter & Brumfield Inc. - Company Profile, Information, Business Description, History, Background Information on Potter & Brumfield Inc.," *Reference for Business*
<http://www.referenceforbusiness.com/history2/62/Potter-Brumfield-Inc.html#ixzz3v4yB2Vbn>
(accessed December 17, 2015). Brumfield served on Purdue's board from 1963 to 1978.

¹⁰³ "Maurice Knoy, ex-president of Purdue board of trustees," *The Indianapolis Star*, April 8, 1991
<http://indystar.newspapers.com/image/106886411/?terms=Maurice%2BKnoy> (accessed December 17, 2015). Knoy held three patents in hydraulics and had served on other Lafayette boards as well.

focused, moral, and nonviolent. Chapter One demonstrates the inception of the movement at Purdue and the gradual shift from the local to the national.

Chapter 1: Purdue Student Unrest in 1968: A Call for Civil Rights

A new left must start controversy across the land, if national policies and national apathy are to be reversed. The ideal university is a community of controversy, within itself and in its effects on communities beyond.

-Tom Hayden, The Port Huron Statement¹⁰⁴

“It’s not an easy thing to be a human being,” proclaimed Bill Smoot to the Purdue University women assembled in 1968 for an opening day social gathering.¹⁰⁵ It was September in West Lafayette, Indiana. While parents said their goodbyes, students enthusiastically moved belongings into dorms and fraternity houses and established new friendships. In that excited atmosphere, freshmen women gathered for a Purdue tradition. Dating back to 1941, the Green Guard, an honorary group of upper-level women students, helped freshmen with registration and served as volunteer counselors. This year, the group hosted an ice cream social to introduce the new students to campus life. Freshmen, dorm housemothers, head residents, and administrative staff from the Office of the Dean of Women attended the event that evoked pleasant memories of first years on campus.¹⁰⁶ *Exponent* editor Bill Smoot spoke to the group, emphasizing the

¹⁰⁴ Tom Hayden, “Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society,” (1962) <http://coursesa.matrix.msu.edu/~hst306/documents/huron.html> (accessed June 4, 2014).

¹⁰⁵ Bill Smoot, “You Judge Smoot’s Speech,” *The Purdue Exponent*, September 18, 1968; Stephanie Salter, CHNI News Service, “Facebook: Bill Smoot,” March 14, 2012.” After his studies at Purdue, Bill Smoot studied earned a Doctorate in Philosophy at Northwestern University. He taught at Miami of Ohio before moving to California where he teaches at Castilleja School and is Professor of the Prison University Project at San Quentin Prison. He is the author of *Conversations with Great Teachers*.

¹⁰⁶ Esther Conelley Boonstra, “The Way It Was At Purdue, 1941-1945,” Purdue University Libraries, Archives and Special Collections; Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Volume I, 1968-1969, Events, Green Guard Ice Cream Social, Purdue University Archives and Special Collections, 2; Lucy Himmelreich Noone, re. “Vignettes of Barb Cook,” E-mail, January 6, 2011. Barbara Cook was Associate Dean of Women in the 1960s and 1970s. Beverly Stone was Dean of Women and Dean of Students during that time period. Both women played pivotal roles at Purdue

generational divide by recalling the university's authoritarian, parental stance. Smoot opened his remarks with the following: ". . . these brick replacements for our parents care about good behavior and student rest, economy and efficiency more than they do about the problem of how to become a human being. Specifically, let's consider sex." Smoot went on to compare the university community's adherence to accepted community mores to the blind obedience of 1930s Germany: University rules about "beer and beds, dorms, diaphragms and pills" were unacceptable hindrances to freedom of choice.¹⁰⁷

Smoot not only questioned time-honored tradition at Purdue, he challenged freedom of speech in campus administrative offices and in campus dorm rooms and classrooms. Dean of Students Barbara Cook found the speech to be "inappropriate and very controversial" echoing reactions of Dean of Women Beverly Stone and Ice Cream Social sponsor and President of the Associated Women Society, Pam Terrell, who issued their own statements in response to Smoot's remarks.¹⁰⁸

The *Exponent* printed the text of the speech in an article titled, "You Judge Smoot's Speech." The campus newspaper denounced heavy-handed administrative authority and championed the First Amendment. Smoot's remarks heralded future New Left student activism at Purdue: "Women, too, have the potential to become persons, and just as often as not, they fail . . . I'm not telling

during the turbulent Vietnam War era. Both are remembered as beloved mentors who showed "continued faith in the goodness of students and their respect to find their own voice." These comments reveal the open attitude many administrators adopted toward the student activists.

¹⁰⁷ Bill Smoot, "You Judge Smoot's Speech."

¹⁰⁸ Barbara Cook, "Green Guard Ice Cream Social," Volume I, 1968-1969, 2, Purdue University Libraries, Archives and Special Collections.

you what to decide, only to decide. The important thing is that you question our lives and decide your own answers.”¹⁰⁹ On that fall day in 1968, Smoot’s speech carried the message of the New Left: challenge authority, be the moral conscience of the community, champion free speech and expression, demand privacy, civil rights and personal and political liberty.

Later that semester, Smoot brought up another campus issue, freshman women’s hours. In 1960, in stark contrast with rules regulating male students, females had an 11:00 p.m. weeknight curfew and a weekend curfew of 1:00 a.m.¹¹⁰ Smoot suggested campus-wide protests. In response, the American Women’s Society (AWS) and a group of freshman women at a university dorm prepared a questionnaire on women’s hours and visitation. Freshman and sophomore class councils also became interested in the issue and sponsored an open meeting called “Time’s Up.”¹¹¹ Ultimately, the AWS and the Office of the Dean of Women reached an agreement to end women’s hours after Spring Break of 1969, thereby avoiding a potential confrontation and giving the school time to notify parents of the change.¹¹² The *Exponent* applauded the manner in which the administration had handled the question, employing first an informal investigation, polling students, and implementing change in a timely manner. This was the example for future issues. The positive outcome lent credibility to

¹⁰⁹ Bill Smoot, “You Judge Smoot’s Speech.”

¹¹⁰ Donna Drucker, “Through the Eyes of the Establishment: Student Sexuality and the Dean of Women’s Office at Purdue University,” *Medicine and Sexuality: Post 1945, Notches*, 2017 <http://notchesblog.com/2016/01/14/through-the-eyes-of-the-establishment-student-sexuality-and-the-dean-of-womens-office-at-purdue-university/#respond> (accessed December 28, 2016). Male students notoriously conducted “panty raids” with little consequence.

¹¹¹ Barbara Cook, *Purdue Student Unrest, Volume II*, 10JJ, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹¹² Barbara Cook, *Purdue Student Unrest*, 10JJ.

the principle that “closer administrative touch with students” would go far in solving student-administration conflict and producing progressive solutions.¹¹³ The New Left at Purdue, the “new radicalism,” was borne, as it was across the nation, of student concern about mostly non-radical political issues that called for American cultural change.¹¹⁴

In light of the national headlines about violent student unrest in New York, California, and Wisconsin, Purdue administrators prepared for a groundswell of student activism months before the Green Guard Ice Cream Social. In June, the Board of Trustees amended the existing code of student conduct and began sending the changes to students and staff the summer before classes began. The Board intended the memoranda to function as a provisional “operating procedure” to be in place until a student bill of rights and other University code changes could be implemented and approved through regular university channels. Changes affected only “those cases where action involves suspension or expulsion from the university.” Administrators informed students about the guidelines and the appeals process.¹¹⁵

Administrators concentrated on Section Two of the Code to ensure that the university could go about its business unimpeded by student agitation. It specified that all people affiliated with the university would share in “the heavy responsibility to refrain from conduct which obstructs the work of the University, interferes with the lawful exercise of rights by other persons, endangers the safety

¹¹³ “Potential Problem Solved,” Editorial, *The Purdue Exponent*, March 28, 1969.

¹¹⁴ O’Brien, 15.

¹¹⁵ Donald R. Mallett, “Memo to All Members of the Faculty of Purdue University,” June 10, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

or security of other persons or their property, prevents the proper use of the facilities of the University, or impairs the maintenance of that kind of an academic environment which is essential to the operation of an institution of higher learning.”¹¹⁶ The new set of guidelines outlined the protocol for dealing with any such issues. The Dean of Men or Women would enumerate the charges and inform students of their rights. Each student was allowed to appeal to the Campus Appeals Committee. The administration would then forward all communication to the parents of minor students.¹¹⁷

Misconduct was defined under twelve subheadings. Of particular note and relevance in light of the protest activities on the coasts, were Subheading 3, “Obstruction or disruption of teaching, research, administration, disciplinary procedures, or other University activities,” Subheading 6, “Unauthorized entry to or use or occupancy of University facilities,” Subheading 8, “Use, possession, or distribution of narcotic or dangerous drugs except as expressly permitted by law,” and Subheading 11, “Failure to comply with directions of University officials acting in the performance of their duties.”¹¹⁸

Nine members, four students, three faculty members, and two administrative staff members, made up the Campus Appeals Committee with an administrator serving as chairman. The Committee held discretionary power to determine whether the hearings would be open or closed. Decisions would be reached on a case-by-case basis. Students might “testify and present evidence and witnesses”

¹¹⁶ Mallett, June 10, 1968.

¹¹⁷ Board of Trustees Resolution, June 8, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹¹⁸ Board of Trustees, June 8, 1968.

and could be represented by the Student Advocate or other person of their choosing.¹¹⁹ Anticipating student objection, the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Special Student Problems, Professor Reinhardt Schuhmann, recommended rewording the reference to student suspension as applying only to “extreme cases.”¹²⁰ Clearly, the Board wanted to forestall any rash assumptions about the administration’s eagerness to suspend recalcitrant students. It sought to preserve order and authority while acquiescing to student demands for an active role in university decisions.

On the Purdue Campus, the Peace Union, a national organization established in 1959 by “pacifists and moderate radicals,” quickly criticized the Board’s resolution.¹²¹ In July, around one month after the Board’s recommendation, Peace Union member Mike Brand spoke to members of the University Presbyterian Church criticizing the Board’s ideas. In early fall, the issue gained momentum with hand-written flyers threatening displays of lewd symbols and statues: The Peace Union projected 15 tongue-in-cheek consequences should the Board not repeal its heavy-handed authoritarianism. “The Black students will declare West

¹¹⁹ Board of Trustees, June 8, 1968.

¹²⁰ Winter, 2009, College of Engineering, “A Road Well-Traveled: 50 Years A Future of Infinite Possibilities,” https://engineering.purdue.edu/MSE/AboutUs/Impact/2009_2_MSE_Impact.pdf (accessed September, 2015). Reinhardt Schuhmann, Jr., considered the father of Purdue’s Metallurgical Engineering Division, joined Purdue from MIT in 1954; Advisory Committee on Special Student Problems, “Memorandum from Advisory Committee on Special Student Problems to Vice Presidents D.R. Mallett and G.A. Hawkins,” June 8, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹²¹ Altbach and Peterson, 12; Philip Altbach, *The Pacifist Ethic and Humanism*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, Digital Research Library, January 21, 2009, The American Left Ephemera Collection <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/t/text/text-idx?idno=31735058193966;view=toc;c=amlefttxt> (accessed December 28, 2016). The Peace Union identified peace and humanism as its basic tenets, alleging that power is in “love, truth, non-violence, and good will” which can have a transformative influence on society. They believed humanism, “concern for human welfare” and pacifism to be compatible and “logically connected.”

Lafayette an independent black nation and apply for recognition from the United Nations ¹²². . . . The card section will flash revolutionary slogans at football games. . . . The I.U. game will be turned into a mass love-in The Faculty Senate will declare the Board of Trustees to be obscene and therefore banned from this campus. Heavilon Hall will be renamed The Allen Ginsberg Institute of Fine Arts.” ¹²³

Classes began as usual that September, and the Ice Cream Social speech signaled a new Purdue student climate. Confrontational ideas about freedom and freedom of speech, *in loco parentis*, and order had seeped into tradition and protocol. The Student Code was still under negotiation, and it provided a perfect forum for debate and student assertion of New Left philosophy. That October, the Student Senate weighed in: the Student Code must clearly specify when suspension would be considered. Further, in an effort to promote transparency, the document needed to include information about events that “involved lesser penalties.”¹²⁴ The appeals time must be shortened, and accused students must be allowed to remain on campus during the process. Students must be given the opportunity to withdraw from the university thereby avoiding any pejorative information on their student record, an option that could be chosen even after an unsuccessful appeal before the Board. Any restriction or penalty for student use of narcotics or “unsuitable conduct” must be defined as only that occurring on

¹²² Although the Peace Union flyer references black students, I could find no record of how many black students were members.

¹²³ “Purdue Yippies Strike Again,” Flyer, n.d., Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹²⁴ Student Senate Resolution, Paragraph III, October 16, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

“University-owned or controlled” property.¹²⁵ Students redefined their role with relation to the university, emancipating themselves from university control except for that within certain, defined parameters.

The Board, however, remained steadfast in its goals and refused to acquiesce to the student demands. Although their efforts were unsuccessful, Purdue students had worked together to address their concerns and ensure their civil rights and due process within the university bylaws. The *Exponent* continued to speak out, using its “Orientation Issue” to openly oppose the Student Conduct Code changes.¹²⁶ Despite calls for “changes and clarifications” in the Student Code, the Board took no action.¹²⁷

Five days after Bill Smoot’s Ice Cream Social speech, the Peace Union presented its own “Counter-Orientation” program. Held at Slayter Center, the event hosted speeches by Bill Smoot and Purdue Professors William H. Gass, Harry Targ, and Michael Weinstein.¹²⁸ The *Exponent* reported student attendance to be sizable, at around 1,200. The speakers concentrated on the social backwardness of Purdue and challenged students to “become active, work for a change in their environment, and become individuals.”¹²⁹ Henry Gass called the

¹²⁵ Student Senate Resolution, October 16, 1968.

¹²⁶ Barbara Cook, Purdue University Student Unrest, Vol. I, 1968-1969, “Events, Counter-Orientation Program, September 22, 1968, 3, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹²⁷ Cook, 3.

¹²⁸ Harry Targ, E-mail correspondence, February 18, 2016. William Gass taught philosophy and was a novelist. He wrote, among other things, *In the Heart of the Heart of the Country*. He taught at Washington University after years at Purdue. Michael Weinstein is deceased but was a professor in the political science department at Purdue. Harry Targ currently is Director of Peace Studies at Purdue University; Purdue College of Liberal Arts, Department of Political Science, https://www.cla.purdue.edu/polsci/directory/?p=Michael_Weinstein (accessed February 18, 2016). Michael Weinstein is interested in general political science and the analysis of ideology.

university “Crawl College,” where the students “crawl on their hands and knees because that is the way they have been told to do it.” Students did not object to crawling because they erroneously believed the university was working for their best interests. Targ alleged that the university substituted fraternities and athletics for real activism, misleading students into participating in “controlled activism” instead of actions that have meaning.¹³⁰

Later that fall, student calls for reform broadened to the greater Lafayette Community and the city’s newly-formed Human Relations Commission.¹³¹ Created in 1968, the Commission consisted of nine citizens appointed by the Mayor and approved by the City Council. Its objective was to end “prejudice, intolerance, bigotry, and discrimination” and “encourage respect and understanding of all individuals and groups.” The Commission investigated violations of equal treatment under the law and concerned itself with employment, housing, and all other types of discrimination that failed to comply with local and national fair housing standards. The federal Civil Rights Act of 1968, also known as the Fair Housing Act, had definitively prohibited housing discrimination of all types, and the Commission stood on firm footing in enforcing the law in West Lafayette.¹³²

¹³⁰ “Counter-Orientation Program,” *The Purdue Exponent*, September 23, 1968.

¹³¹ “Greater Lafayette” refers to both Lafayette and West Lafayette.

¹³² History Channel, “Fair Housing Act of 1968,” <http://www.history.com/topics/black-history/fair-housing-act> (accessed December 28, 2016). “The Civil Rights Act signed into law in April 1968—popularly known as the Fair Housing Act—prohibited discrimination concerning the sale, rental and financing of housing based on race, religion, national origin and sex. Intended as a follow-up to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the bill was the subject of a contentious debate in the Senate, but was passed quickly by the House of Representatives in the days after the assassination of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. The act stands as the final great legislative achievement of the civil rights era.”

West Lafayette Mayor James Williamson asked President Hovde to recommend student nominees for the commission.¹³³ Hovde was enthused by the prospect of including students and spoke with student leaders. Mayor Williamson made his student selections but, to the disappointment of students, the position was for a non-voting seat. Then, to make matters worse, when speaking to the City Council on October 7, Williamson offended students by referring to them as “guests,” not citizens of the community. The Student Senate responded to these affronts on October 16th with Senate Resolution 8-13. If students were not citizens, they should then not participate in the West Lafayette 1968 special census. Student Senate Resolution 8-13 explained, “Whereas the city hopes to count many student ‘non-citizens’ in this census for revenue purposes while refusing to recognize the legal rights of this group as citizens” . . . students should “consider refusal to participate as a just means of expressing dissatisfaction with the Mayor and the City Council’s view of the student as a ‘non-citizen.’”¹³⁴ Students demanded full equal treatment as citizens, again refuting their status under the aegis of the university.

Despite their disappointment with the mayor’s response, Purdue students continued to show interest in the Human Relations Commission, eager to be part of it and to be heard through its forum. In October, Senate President Rick Parker

¹³³ West Lafayette Memories blogspot.com, “James R. Williamson, First Democratic Mayor in West Lafayette,” <http://westlafayettmemories.blogspot.com/2012/01/james-r-williamson-first-democrat-mayor.html> (accessed March 5, 2016). “Perhaps what is most notable about his place in the history of the city is that he was the first Democrat ever elected to that position. Not only was he the first Democrat mayor, but prior to his defeat of the Republican candidate Emmett Koehler, no Democrat had held public office in West Lafayette. Although he was victorious, he was surrounded by an all Republican panel. His defeat of Koehler by a final tally of 1,955 to 1,807 votes is of significance in our city's political history.”

¹³⁴ Student Senate Resolution 8-13, October 16, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

and Senate member Greg Kuziak reacted in a memorandum, "Student Government Speaks." Such a commission was "long overdue," and could be an important catalyst for achieving human rights and pride but, they argued, it must have the full support of all citizens. Parker and Kuziak set out four essential qualities the Commission must embrace: 1) The focus of the Commission must be all-encompassing, stretching beyond the boundaries of West Lafayette even though enforcement would be limited, 2) The group must be philosophically far-reaching. Residents must "attack, study, and involve ourselves" with a broad spectrum of issues, "hearing all cases relevant to the community."¹³⁵ Discrimination was often subtle, and discriminative behavior technically falling within the boundary of the law must be identified and dealt with. "We must be broad minded enough to study every facet of the problem, not just the legal facet." Education was the solution, 3) The commission should enlighten the community, teaching people about what bigotry looks like, what causes it, and providing leadership "in conquering this disease." In so doing, it was imperative that students be part of this important commission and its work. The students pledged their support to the worthy mission of the group. They were citizens of the community. "Our voice will be heard, and in the future, the Commission must also include our vote." In the meantime, the students refused an "ex-officio," non-voting seat.¹³⁶ In 2017, the Commission remains an important part of greater

¹³⁵ Rick Parker and Greg Kuziak, Memorandum, "Student Government Speaks," October, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹³⁶ Parker and Kuziak Memorandum.

Lafayette. It retains its 1968 mission and is today comprised of nine appointees of the Tippecanoe County Commissioner with no student representation.¹³⁷

Another issue making headlines across the nation was corporate and government recruiting on campus. The New Left garnered public support against the escalation of the Vietnam War by exposing inflated defense industry contracts, directing its concern for Diggins' psycho-ethical issues such as poverty, racial and gender injustice, and environmental concerns.¹³⁸ In October 1968, Purdue students protested corporate involvement with the defense industry.

Many students objected to what they considered to be illegal and unethical activities of some companies recruiting on the Purdue campus. Dow Chemical's development and production of Napalm was connected with war atrocities, and the CIA was implicated in campus surveillance of anti-draft activities. On September 30, in support of the national movement, the *Exponent* ran an article from a New York newspaper that voiced national student concern about college recruiters that had participated in government contracts in support of the war of Vietnam."¹³⁹ Thus began a protracted struggle between administration and student activists.

The Peace Union demanded that the University stop "on-campus recruitment" by Dow, the CIA, the FBI, and "other agencies subversive to the purposes of

¹³⁷ "City of Lafayette, Human Relations Commission," City of Lafayette, 1 January 2014, www.lafayette.in.gov/department/board.php?fDD=2-24 (accessed May 25, 2017).

¹³⁸ Diggins, 186.

¹³⁹ "An Alternative – College Recruitment," *The Purdue Exponent*, September 30, 1968, 5. The unattributed reprinted article had a dateline of "New York," and CPC.

higher education.”¹⁴⁰ On October 2, 400 students attended the Peace Union rally on “Hello Walk” on Memorial Mall, the central courtyard on the Purdue campus and a popular gathering place. After the rally, Peace Union representatives Clark Shimatsu and Mike Brand, as well as political science professor John Sloan, presented their demands to Vice President and Executive Dean Donald Mallett. Professor Sloan called for the university to make a statement against “representatives of war machine contracts,” reminding students that the death toll was mounting in Viet Nam, and that they must convince the next president that “the peace movement is still strong.” Peace Union president Clark Shimatsu believed that the university was headed for “confrontation.”¹⁴¹

On October 16, approximately 100 students and faculty staged a sit-in at the university placement office. When students refused to leave, the administration summoned the police.¹⁴² Before the police took action, however, Dean Donald Mallett diffused the situation by holding a private meeting with Clark Shimatsu, Mike Brand, student body president Mark Munsell, two faculty members, and one reporter. Mallett promised that if the students dispersed and allowed the CIA recruitment to proceed as planned, further objectionable groups would be barred from recruiting until the “academic community” could make a decision on the matter. Mallett promised to present the issue at the next Board of Trustees meeting on November 5, 1968. Professor William Gass advised that “compromise

¹⁴⁰ Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Vol. I, Placement Controversy, 5, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁴¹ Skip Wollenberg, “Peace Union Demands Dow Be Prohibited,” *The Purdue Exponent*, October 3, 1968.

¹⁴² Meg Lundstrum, “Demonstrators Protest Recruiting,” *The Purdue Exponent*, October 16, 1968.

is our best chance.” The crowd dispersed without incident.¹⁴³ Over the next weeks, the *Exponent* published a series of editorials debating the pros and cons of the issues. In its editorial, “Campus Recruiting,” the paper expressed the New Left view of the university as articulated by historian Henry Steele Commager:

What is this silence that has fallen on the leadership of the University – presidents, deans, boards of trustees and regents alike? The leaders of the religious community have spoken out boldly enough – heads of great theological seminaries, distinguished theologians and clergymen. The scientific community has taken a strong stand on the moral issues of the war and of nuclear weapons, Nobel Peace Prize winners, heads of great scientific organizations. The rank and file of the academic community, teachers, scholars, students, have seen that here are moral issues that must be faced, and have wrestled them. But from Cambridge to Berkeley, from Madison to Baton Rouge, not a single president of a great university has taken a public stand on what is the greatest moral issue of our time.¹⁴⁴

Tension between students and administration grew when President Hovde, returning from an out-of-town meeting, reversed Dean Mallett’s pronouncement and pledged that no changes in the recruiting schedule would be made. Purdue had not changed its policy with regard to the CIA, Dow Chemical Company, or any other legitimate company. No interviews had been or would be canceled. Further, Hovde said that, regardless of what was said on Tuesday to any student, “no university policy has been changed.” The November 6 Board meeting would listen to concerns of all interested parties. Finally, Hovde explained that there had been no arrests at Tuesday’s demonstration because students did not disrupt interviews and left peacefully.¹⁴⁵ After hearing that Dean Mallett’s promises had

¹⁴³ Lundstrum, “Demonstrators Protest Recruiting.”

¹⁴⁴ “Campus Recruiting,” Editorial, *The Purdue Exponent*, October 2, 1968.

¹⁴⁵ Frederick Hovde, “Set Record Straight,” *The Purdue Exponent*, October 17, 1968.

been rescinded, Peace Union's Clark Shimatsu cautioned that if students continue to work through the system, "we lose."¹⁴⁶

The CIA held its interviews on October 15th and 16th, but the only interruption was Placement Director Stewart's decision to cancel, in "the interest of safety and order" a scheduled interview with a member of the Peace Union.¹⁴⁷ Meanwhile, on October 17, 400 people, including members of the Peace Union and the Faculty Action Committee, marched to the president's office displaying a sign directed at President Hovde proclaiming, "We'll be back, Freddie." The day ended with simultaneous pro- and anti-Hovde groups demonstrating and ultimately converging for "small group discussions" of high emotion. In a show of unity, on October 17, the Student Senate held an open forum with over 100 Peace Union members. Mike Brand asked the Senate to advocate "effective social change." The crowd found seats on the floor, window ledges, and side seats as Senate President Rick Parker ran an informal discussion. The group reached an agreement to consider final action after a Peace Union meeting on Monday, October 21 and a special Student Senate meeting on Tuesday October 22. The group discussed the issues rationally and many said they were happy that the "Establishment" and the Peace Union participated in an open dialogue of ideas.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Skip Wollenberg, "Peace Union Demands Dow Be Prohibited," *The Purdue Exponent*, October 3, 1968.

¹⁴⁷ "Hovde's Encyclical," Peace Union Flyer, n.d., Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁴⁸ Meg Lundstrum, "Student Senate Reacts To Issue: Meeting Yields To Caucus; Final Decision Postponed," *The Purdue Exponent*, October 17, 1968.

On October 18th, that rationale dialogue ended with President Hovde's attendance at the Student Government forum. According to Hovde, the meeting "went badly." The Peace Union delegation, along with Student Body president Mark Munsell, left the meeting early.¹⁴⁹ Meanwhile, students held multiple rallies expressing feelings of betrayal by Hovde and the administration's about-face on the placement controversy. Over 600 students listened to speeches by, among others, Student Body President Mark Munsell, *Exponent* Editor Bill Smooth, and Peace Union members. Students wondered if students had any influence in the operation of the university. Smoot called Hovde's decision to overturn Dean Mallett's promise, "the death of university-ism" but cautioned that the president "can't kill ideals." If it was the death of "student submission" they would mourn "joyfully." Munsell called for the "annihilation of the ethics of the Administration building." Some students, however, supported President Hovde, saying that the Peace Union "was making too big an issue out of a lack of communication in the Administration."¹⁵⁰

In a subsequent correspondence with Mark Munsell on October 21, Hovde offered to confer with students about the issue. Hovde welcomed the Student Senate or any other "interested groups" to present recommendations before the Board. The ensuing time period would be somewhat of a moratorium. There were no scheduled interviews by the recruiting agencies in question between October 21 and the upcoming Board meeting on November 6. Hovde invited the

¹⁴⁹ Barbara Cook, *Student Unrest Purdue*, Vol. I, Placement Controversy, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections, 5, 5A.

¹⁵⁰ Meg Lundstrum, "Rallies Mark Reaction to Hovde," *The Purdue Exponent*, October 18, 1968.

Peace Union, along with other student groups and university bodies, to present their views to the Board.¹⁵¹

Hovde realized that students felt betrayed by the reversal from Dean Mallett's promise earlier in the month, but he explained this as "the right of review" within administrative organizations. It was similar to the overruling of a lower court by a higher court. Could "passions" now be directed toward the issues at hand? Hovde asked that students employ "orderly methods" to effect necessary change.¹⁵²

As Hovde penned his letter to Munsell, students continued to unleash their feelings against the betrayal of the promise to restrict campus placement interviews. Two hundred students attended a Peace Union meeting and vowed to enlist wider student support to stop objectionable recruiters.¹⁵³ The *Exponent* accused President Hovde of burying the question of CIA recruitment on campus, reversing Mallett's promise to the Peace Union, and violating the integrity of the administration. The paper went on to suggest that continued betrayal of students and faculty could result in campus violence and revolution.¹⁵⁴ In "Philosophers Speak Out," the Philosophy Department called for Hovde to honor Vice President Mallett's promise. It was signed by ten faculty and 17 graduate students.¹⁵⁵ On October 22, the Student Senate responded with Senate Resolution 8-14, recommending postponement of any decisions about the Placement Office until

¹⁵¹ Frederick Hovde, "Letter to Mark Munsell, President, Purdue Student Body," October 21, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁵² Hovde, Letter to Mark Munsell, October 21, 1968.

¹⁵³ Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Volume I, Placement Controversy, 5, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁵⁴ "Buried Question," Editorial, *The Purdue Exponent*, October 21, 1968.

¹⁵⁵ "Philosophers Speak Out," *The Purdue Exponent*, October 21, 1968.

after November 24.¹⁵⁶ Student Senate Resolution 8-15 recommended that academic community groups submit recommendations about how to proceed with scheduled interviews, but that the Purdue community members “abide by the decision of the Board of Trustees.”¹⁵⁷ On October 23, Peace Union members and a group of more conservative students asked Purdue trustees to delay their ruling.¹⁵⁸

On that same day, however, 5500 students endorsed the administration by signing a petition in support of the current recruiting policy and the “right of the student to interview any company.”¹⁵⁹ The National College Placement Council, a federal organization headquartered in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania also backed Hovde’s position. The Council entreated all university administrations to protect the rights of students by allowing interviews to proceed, unimpeded. “Small minority groups” that “have obstructed the conducting of campus interviews by certain organizations” were in violation of the rights of both students and recruiting organizations.¹⁶⁰ On November 1, Dean Mallett again attempted to quiet the controversy in a letter clarifying the rules and regulations of the Placement Service, stating it was the policy of the University to give students the opportunity to interview any “legitimate employer” and that “no student is ever required to interview any given company.”¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ George, Emerson, Burkhardt, Student Senate Resolution 8-14, October 22, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁵⁷ Schnautz, Student Senate Resolution 8-15, October 22, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁵⁸ “Student Senate Asks Trustees to Delay Ruling,” *The Purdue Exponent*, October 23, 1968.

¹⁵⁹ “Petition Supports Current Policy,” *The Purdue Exponent*, October 23, 1968.

¹⁶⁰ “College Placement and Student Demonstrations, A Statement of Position,” The College Placement Council, Inc., n. d., Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁶¹ Donald Mallett, “Letter to the academic community,” November 1, 1967, Purdue University

On November 4, two days before the Board's scheduled meeting, the administration's Committee on Academic Organization sent a memo to the University Senate requesting a public hearing for staff and students. The Committee's communication explained that the Senate had asked that any decision by the Board be postponed until which time all recommendations by the December 16 meetings of the University Senate and the Student Government could be reviewed.¹⁶² The University Senate had issued a statement endorsing free and open recruitment and applauded those student groups who supported such activity and reminded the Student Affairs Committee of its obligation to concern itself with the "practical welfare of all students of the university as expressed in the Section 1.23 of the Bylaws of the University Senate."¹⁶³ The joint student-faculty public forum took place at Loeb Theatre on November 4, two days before the Board hearing, with an attendance of approximately 400 people. Speakers were given the opportunity to issue statements in response to the College Placement Council's guidelines. The Committee on Academic Organization recommended future such meetings to precede controversial issues.¹⁶⁴

Ironically, the placement controversy may have helped improve Hovde's relationship with students. Hovde had no choice but to honor the original recruitment schedule and support those students who counted on the interviews.

Library Archives and Special Collections. Note: The letter appears to have been misdated as 1967 instead of 1968.

¹⁶² "Memo To University Senate From Committee on Academic Organization," University Senate Document 68-15, November 4, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁶³ J. W. Wiley and W.B. Cottingham, "To University Senate," University Senate Document 68-16, November 4, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁶⁴ Wiley and Cottingham, November 4, 1968.

He was bound by the national College Placement Council's guidelines and accountable to parents who counted on the interviews as part of the school's fiduciary responsibility. But this incident taught Hovde the importance of engaging students and actively soliciting their opinions. Mallett's misstep taught the administration early on that student input was vital in precluding confrontational incidents such as the Berkeley Free Speech standoff.

During the placement storm, protestors utilized campus flyers and the press to express dissatisfaction, discussing not only the appropriateness of campus recruiters, but concerns for freedom of expression. The Peace Union openly objected to the administration's handling of the placement issue, sending out its own communication, a "memoriam" responding to President Hovde's leadership: "Hey, listen man; I mean, like they won't care; after all, you're the boss; I mean, you run the SHOW; AND it's their responsibility to follow the rules; After all, it's not like you were responsible for the whole team." The flyer announced that on October 16, "Our Lady (Truth) suffered a fatal heart attack while listening to an editorial broadcast on television." Lady Truth, a significant casualty of the administration's broken promises, would be buried October 17. Mourners were asked to send unused morals and ethics.¹⁶⁵ Young New Leftists, feeling alienated by Old Left liberalism and impersonal government institutions, sought to impose

¹⁶⁵ C. W. Brown, C.W., and Cecilia Zissis, "Statement by the Peace Union of Purdue University on The Censorship Imposed by the University Administration," Letter to Professor A.E. Bell, Chairman Committee on Student Affairs, May 9, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections. The Peace Union also had a confrontation about the sale of buttons in the Memorial Union. The Purdue administration referred the group to the Student Code item 41.60 which called for prior approval of student activities or programs of student organizations. The Peace Union objected on the grounds of constitutional approval against prior restraint, and when they resumed sale of the buttons, the administration restricted the sale until the Peace Union complied with administration guidelines.

morality and justice to society.¹⁶⁶ The communication was signed by Mark Munsell and Harley Flanders, Mathematics Department, along with Peace Union members Mike Brand, Jeff Brant, Ted Fishman, and Clark Shimatsu.¹⁶⁷ Leaflets, some unattributed, circulated throughout campus. One such flyer titled in a hand-scrawled, “WHY?” indicted the CIA and called for peaceful demonstrations to be held under the Mural in the Memorial Center. Campus residents were invited to open discussions at the Purdue Memorial Union.¹⁶⁸ Another asked students to sign a pledge to refuse induction into the army.¹⁶⁹ As O’Brien writes, the university represented the logical place to change the world, and these middle-class, moralistic youth felt bound to fight for morality and create change.¹⁷⁰

The issue turned to freedom of the press when the *Exponent* published an editorial in reaction to the placement controversy by columnists Deborah and Paul Cabbell. As the writers protested the substitution of administrative orders in the place of campus-wide discussion, they used several crude metaphors to describe President Hovde.

Our president is not anal retentive. For despite the fact that he has kept the shit from hitting the stand for so long at Purdue, he dumped on the students just last week. Even now, while the student senate is combing the presidential feces out of its hair, trying desperately to regain its composure, Hovde is wiping his ass with the philosophy department’s two petitions. Purdue is quiet once again, despite the stink.

¹⁶⁶ Tom Hayden, Port Huron Statement.

¹⁶⁷ Peace Union, Flyer, “The Honeymoon Is Over: We Got Screwed,” n.d. Purdue University Library Archive and Special Collections.

¹⁶⁸ “Why?” Unattributed Purdue University flyer, n.d., Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁶⁹ “Oppose the Criminal War,” Unattributed Purdue University flyer, n.d., Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁷⁰ O’Brien, 17.

The Cabbells concluded their editorial by demanding the resignation of the president.¹⁷¹ The *Exponent* responded to criticism the day after the article appeared, October 24. Although the *Exponent* did not condone the language used by the Cabbells, it stated its obligation to provide discussion for all sides and issues.¹⁷² The *Exponent* apologized for the controversial approach of the editorial but referred to the University of Minnesota's campus newspaper, *The Minnesota Daily*, that justified printing "dirty words," stating that university communities are "mature and adult." Lies or inaccuracies should be subject to censor; objectionable, even rough language should not. Journalists must present a wide variety of writing, opinion, and style.¹⁷³

The faculty Committee on Student Publications disagreed. It issued recommendations to the University Senate Student Affairs Committee calling for "public censure" of *Exponent* editor Bill Smoot, advising that he be placed in a four-month probationary position at the paper.¹⁷⁴ The *Exponent* fired back. Would the trend at University of Kentucky, where freedom of the press had been called into question, dictate Purdue's stance on journalistic freedom?¹⁷⁵

The Cabbells joined in the debate. Discussions about the legality of freedom of speech must take place in a courtroom, not in an "administrator's office."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ Paul and Deborah Cabbell, "Notes from a Black Book," *The Purdue Exponent*, October 23, 1968.

¹⁷² "Free Expression," *The Purdue Exponent*, October 24, 1968.

¹⁷³ "Free Expression," October 24, 1968.

¹⁷⁴ Committee on Student Publications, "Recommendations Relating to Certain Articles in the Purdue Exponent, from Committee on Student Publications, October 24, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁷⁵ "Editorial Freedom?" *The Purdue Exponent*, October 31, 1968. According to the *Exponent*, many on the University of Kentucky campus were calling for the restriction of the campus paper's freedom of the press by restructuring the staff selection and controlling the editorial process.

¹⁷⁶ Paul and Deborah Cabbell, "Freedom of Speech," *The Purdue Exponent*, November 4, 1968.

William Smoot followed on November 5 with his article, “In Defense of Idealism.” In it, he observed that idealists were often maligned in the practical world where people fall in line with conformity and seek compromise over principle. He argued that “right is right,” and that its defense defines character. Smoot went on to articulate the New Left philosophy that the world will remain “insane” until enough people dare to challenge the status quo. In the moral vacuum of idealism, impractical idealism becomes practical and is the only foundation on which to “build a sane world.”¹⁷⁷

The Cabbells continued their argument with a wholesale indictment of West Lafayette where students were considered to be “guests until the census taker magically transforms” them into citizens.¹⁷⁸ The November 6 edition of Cabbells’ column described civil rights violations in the community, referring to racist remarks of the parishioners of a local congregation, greedy landlords who exploit student renters, and a university that sits in tacit approval, all-the-while labeling students “rebels.”¹⁷⁹ The “cultural wasteland” called West Lafayette eschewed literature produced by minority groups and discriminated against homosexuals. And where, they asked, was freedom of speech?¹⁸⁰

On November 6, the Vice President for Student Services removed William Smoot as Editor-in-Chief of the *Exponent* for his failure to censor the Cabbells, citing the Code of Ethics of the American Society of Newspaper Editors: “The

¹⁷⁷ William R. Smoot, “In Defense of Idealism,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 5, 1968.

¹⁷⁸ This statement is in reference to the controversy surrounding the West Lafayette major’s reference to Purdue students as “guests” when denying them a voting position on the Human Relations Commission and the student resultant refusal to participate in the West Lafayette census.

¹⁷⁹ Paul and Deborah Cabbell, “Notes from a Black Book,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 6, 1968.

¹⁸⁰ Paul and Deborah Cabbell, November 6, 1968.

right of a newspaper is restricted by nothing but considerations of public welfare. . . . A journalist who uses his power for any selfish or otherwise unhealthy purpose is faithless to a high trust.”¹⁸¹ On November 11, Presidential Executive Assistant John Hicks spoke on a local radio broadcast to defend the university’s position. It was one day after Smoot’s dismissal, and Hicks held him responsible for not following generally accepted journalistic principles as editor. The censorship was not so much to protect the university students but to maintain the integrity of the publication bearing the Purdue name. He went on to assert that alumni financial support had had no role in the decision. The issue of student activism eroding alumni support was not a new one. In September, for example, the *Exponent* ran an editorial outlining the fine line administrators had to walk in placating alumni, who accounted for substantial university donations, while answering the demands of activist students.¹⁸² Further, the issue of alumni financial support loomed large in the face of the Purdue’s upcoming centennial celebration in May, 1969. The university sought no legal action against Smoot, but the administration believed he had failed to live up to the high standard of journalism. In no way, however, had or would the administration attempt to censor any ideas or opinions.¹⁸³ In an official statement to the *Exponent* staff, Dean Mallett echoed Hicks’ reasoning: Any university censorship applied only to the language of the Cabbells’ article. There was no consideration given to any

¹⁸¹ John R. Mallett, Letter, November 8, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

¹⁸² Paul J. Buser, “A University Perspective,” *The Purdue Exponent*, September 23, 1968.

¹⁸³ “Hicks Replies in Radio Interview, Radio Broadcast, WBAA, Saturday, November 9, 1968,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 11, 1968.

fund-raising needs or outside pressure from university alumni. Freedom of speech was intact, journalistic ethics enforced.¹⁸⁴

Smoot would not be placated and continued to exercise his First Amendment rights in a November 11 editorial titled “Right vs Power” where he made his case against the administration. He accused the school of giving into alumni pressure and the threat of withheld alumni donations. Those who fired him were opponents of free speech, applying a worn-out system of values whose time had come and gone. Right would prevail.¹⁸⁵ Student support came in the column “An Eye on the Administration” by President of Sigma Delta Chi student Paul Buser. It was high time that the college remembered its role as purveyor of truth and not as “business enterprise.” Buser referred to the 1968 Cox Commission Report on disturbances at Columbia. The report stated that “no university can ever become a true university until . . . resistance to change is dissolved.” Only through student engagement would understanding be attained.¹⁸⁶

On November 11, the *Exponent* published a list of students who rejected the authority of the university and proclaimed that Purdue student organizations should “function solely under the Student Bill of Rights and treat their own constitutions as their final operating authority.”¹⁸⁷ A diverse array of conservative and liberal student organizations, including officers of the Student Senate, the administrative staff of *The Greek*, the Student Government Service Junior Board, officers of the student classes, and the chairman of the Black Student Action

¹⁸⁴ “Mallett States Reason for Smoot’s Removal,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 11, 1968.

¹⁸⁵ William R. Smoot, “Right vs. Power,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 11, 1968.

¹⁸⁶ Buser, Paul J., “An Eye on the Administration,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 11, 1968.

¹⁸⁷ Paul J. Buser, “An Eye on the Administration.”

Committee signed the list.¹⁸⁸ Hovde reacted that same day with the formation of a “special review board consisting of students, faculty, and administrators” charged with developing and overseeing the management of the Purdue student newspaper. In a reversal of the administrative staff’s earlier dismissal of Smoot, Hovde pledged to allow him to remain as editor during the review period.¹⁸⁹ In response, students canceled a planned boycott of classes, but Professor Harley Flanders, executive officer of the Faculty Action Committee, hoped that student leaders would continue their planned rally on the mall in the Free Speech Center.¹⁹⁰ The *Exponent* covered stories of a jubilant student body and faculty who saw Hovde’s actions as “a major breakthrough” and the chance for students to begin real work with the administration.¹⁹¹ Hovde realized the importance of reaching a consensus among students, faculty, and administrators in order to confer credibility to the review process.

On a cold November day, five hundred students gathered at the Mall to hear a panel discussion about the free speech controversy. Three students, two faculty members, a folk singer, and “an Old Master” spoke.¹⁹² Presenters commended students for “their passionate commitment and dedication to improvement of their

¹⁸⁸ Statement by Student Leaders,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 11, 1968.

¹⁸⁹ Diana Ritter, “Editor Reinstated in Return for Managing Policy Review,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 12, 1968.

¹⁹⁰ Bert Gault, “Rally Still Planned; Class Boycott Cancelled,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 12, 1968; Bob Metzger, “Professor Gass outlines long range FAC goals,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 21, 1968. In a November 21, 1968 article, Professor William Gass, Chairman of the Faculty Action Committee, described its goals. The committee sought to work “through available channels to help educate people, students, faculty, administration, and the community.” The FAC frequently took up the cause of the students on issues of freedom of speech and other civil rights.

¹⁹¹ Meg Lundstrom, “Students, Faculty Cheer; Flash Victory Sign,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 12, 1968.

¹⁹² Kristen Weiler, “Old Masters to Discuss Experiences,” *The Purdue Exponent*, October 19, 1966. The “Old Masters” program began at Purdue in 1949, bringing some “of the most distinguished men and women in America” to the campus to “help students formulate a philosophy which will guide them through their lives.”

own lot” and the administration for “discussing the issue open-mindedly and fairly.” The “Old Master,” a Purdue alumni and General Electric Corporation manager, praised the university climate, and Dr. Robert Perloff commended both sides in the debate.¹⁹³ Intrafraternity Council member Rich Mier stated that Purdue was coming toward the realization of true democracy through “shoe leather and mimeograph machines, student rallies and faculty action committees.”¹⁹⁴ Student action during the censorship controversy conforms with Keniston’s and Lerner’s description of the New Left.¹⁹⁵ This nonviolent war of words focused on protection of the First Amendment rather than destruction of property.

The *Exponent* ran “A Cost to Everything” on its editorial page on November 15th. What was the cost of free speech? What was the cost of censorship? If Executive Assistant John Hicks worried that the Cabbell article cost alumni support, was the cost of not printing it even greater? Was concession to “little things” a momentous and dangerous compromise with a substantial price? Would it cost, for example, the attraction of quality faculty to Purdue? “Millions of dollars” won’t make this a good university, but one good professor is “a good start.” Alumni donations would not compensate for the loss of quality professors who would reject a university that inhibited journalistic and academic freedom. Purdue needed to attract a faculty from outside conservative Indiana. “Good

¹⁹³ Mackenzie Carpenter, “Obituary: Robert Perloff / University of Pittsburgh professor, father of consumer psychology,” *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, April 20, 2013 <http://trove.nla.gov.au/version/194855874> (accessed November 3, 2015). Mr. Perloff’s work at Purdue, and later at Pitt’s Katz Graduate School of Business, concerned the methodology and statistics of consumer buying habits.

¹⁹⁴ Meg Lundstrom, “Students Hear Exponent Issue Analyzed On Mall,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 13, 1968.

¹⁹⁵ Keniston and Lerner, ““Campus Characteristics and Campus Unrest.”

faculty members” must be the kind of people would bring divergent, progressive ideas to Purdue and promote free and open discussion. By endorsing censorship, what message were Purdue administrators sending?¹⁹⁶

On November 21 and 22, Bill Smoot continued the debate with two editorials. In “The Unmaking of an Editor,” Smoot recounted the events that led to his dismissal as editor and bemoaned the fact that alumni donations seemed to mean more than editorial freedom. Several alumni had written letters to the university in protest of the Cabbell letters. Dean of Men O.D. Roberts discussed the issue with Smoot and indicated that the question could down to “whether you’re willing to pay a million dollars for telling it like it is and in the manner you want to tell it.”¹⁹⁷ On the next day, however, Smoot’s “Remaking of an Unmade Editor” reported that the Faculty Action Committee, a graduate ad hoc committee, and many undergraduates brought about the restoration of Smoot’s position and the integrity of the paper, forging new bonds of unity among the students who celebrated the news.¹⁹⁸

During the remainder of the 1968-69 school year, Purdue administrators oversaw the creation of a newspaper review board, and on November 15, Hovde announced the makeup of its members. It would be comprised of five students, five faculty, and three administrators. Then on February 2, 1969, the board recommended the newspaper be incorporated to allow it to function autonomously outside the jurisdiction of the university. The corporation board would consist of 11 members: three faculty, four students, and four *Exponent* staff members, the

¹⁹⁶ ““A Cost to Everything,”” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 18, 1968.

¹⁹⁷ Bill Smoot, “The Unmaking of an Editor,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 21, 1968.

¹⁹⁸ Bill Smoot, “The Remaking of an Editor,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 22, 1968.

Editor in Chief, Managing Editor, Business Manager, and a fourth from the senior staff. Seven board members would constitute a majority. Acceptance of these terms was mandatory for the continuation of the newspaper.¹⁹⁹ Yet, one year later, as the new school year began in fall 1969, *Exponent* staff expressed concern that some members of the board would not operate independently. The student and faculty senates had the power to recall their representatives and fill all vacancies. Was the early euphoria about the compromise now obscured by the shadow of oppression?²⁰⁰

Students and administration continued to struggle with issues of censorship and freedom of the speech for the remainder of the 1968-69 academic school year, but debate soon reverted to college recruitment. On December 16, 1968, after much conversation, the Committee on Student Affairs, made up of primarily of faculty members with a small number of student representatives, issued a report on possible resolutions to the issues. Finally, the Committee recommended the perpetuation of the policy as it existed.²⁰¹

The early New Left movement at Purdue remained law-abiding and relatively non-violent. Student-faculty coalitions used the power of the press, spoken word, and demonstrations to bring about freedom of political expression. Bill Smoot retained his position as editor and self-proclaimed revolutionary. The administration listened to students and faculty, and, although not all student

¹⁹⁹ Skip Wollenberg, "From November to November . . . Profit or Loss?" *The Purdue Exponent*, November 11, 1969.

²⁰⁰ Wollenberg.

²⁰¹ K.E. Botkin, Coradel Hamilton, J.A. Huston, et. al., "Effectiveness of the November 18 Joint Student-Faculty Forum on Placement Policies," Memo to University Senate from Committee on Student Affairs, December 18, 1968.

demands were met, Purdue had weathered the storm without violent demonstrations. Through sometimes contentious debate, freedom of speech prevailed and New Left idealism continued to inspire students and challenge administrators. The administration approved the creation of a newspaper review board made up of faculty and students. The 1968-1969 Purdue yearbook, *The Debris*, reflects message of the New Left and the moral message it embraced.

I see flower children metamorphosed by thin smoke until life
transforms into a count of Tibetan prayer beads
So I pour myself into a beer bottle
escape offering only escape.
And escape I must from a thousand days of discovering how little I
know and wondering the worth of learning that the entropy of the
universe is increasing or how many treaties make American
history.
The older generation questions my seeking, condemns my morals,
Decries against my apathy towards the war I did not create but
must fight.
They seek to suspend me until I am lost in time while Life sleeps
on
Am I merely a sleepwalker, the hour hand on a clock or the alarm
which will awaken the world?²⁰²

²⁰² Purdue University, *The 1968 Debris Yearbook*, Purdue University Libraries, West Lafayette, Indiana, 11-15 <http://earchives.lib.purdue.edu/cdm/ref/collection/debris/id/46142> (accessed October, 1, 2015).

Chapter 2: Black Power and Purdue

Negro employment opportunity, wage levels, housing conditions, educational privileges -- these remain deplorable and relatively constant, each deprivation reinforcing the impact of the others.

-Tom Hayden, The Port Huron Statement

In 1942, the United States War Department created the Navy V-12 program on 131 college campuses including Purdue University. African American enlisted in record numbers. At Purdue, black soldiers lived in new, campus military barracks while the university did not permit black students to occupy university-owned housing.²⁰³ When a young black engineering student complained, Purdue president Edward Elliott advised him to go elsewhere.²⁰⁴ Two white clergymen intervened, however, providing housing for blacks at the International House, a small home reserved for foreign students. Black females, however, still had nowhere to live on campus, and the only housing available was miles away. In 1946, when Fred Parker sent a letter to President Hovde asking for campus housing for his daughter, President Hovde denied his request. Parker and other concerned citizens then petitioned Governor Ralph Gates who intervened, pressuring Purdue to admit black women to their dormitories. By the spring of 1947, housing discrimination ended at Purdue University. Discrimination still persisted, however. President Hovde submitted to demands for integration of the

²⁰³ Derek Jamar, "Black Purdue Documentary," Black Alumni Association and Purdue University <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lMaQyMyQpDc> (accessed April 10, 2016).

²⁰⁴ Topping, 355.

Union barbershop by supplying a separate pair of clippers for black men to check out.²⁰⁵

By 1968, concerned students, black and white, wrote about continuing discrimination on the Purdue campus and in West Lafayette. The campus was predominantly white, with African Americans making up only 129 of the 20,176 students.²⁰⁶ As the distinct minority, many black students found it difficult to secure equal treatment, and one significant area of concern continued to be equal access to housing. Even though Purdue dormitories were desegregated, many fraternities remained segregated until the late 1970s.²⁰⁷ One Purdue fraternity, Sigma Nu, operated under a national exclusion “anti-Negro clause,” and even though sororities did not have similar policies, they admitted few black members. Fraternities and sororities represented an exclusive domain where prejudice and discrimination could easily be disguised within the pledging process.

²⁰⁵ Jamar.

²⁰⁶ Derek Jamar; 1970-1979 Population Estimates by Age, Sex, and Race, PE-19, <https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/tables/1900-1980/state/asrh/pe-19.pdf> (accessed January 17, 2017). Comparisons with other schools is difficult because most schools did not compile racial demographics until the late 1970s. This percentage compares to the racial demographics of Indiana where blacks made up just under seven percent of the population in 1970.

²⁰⁷ David Westol, “When Things Were Black and White,” unpublished presentation (accessed April 20, 2016). Westol provides an overview of the insidious discriminatory practices that persisted in fraternities from the early twentieth century. The first survey by NIC (North American Interfraternity Council) in 1924 reported that of 54 members surveyed, 23 acknowledged restrictions. A sample bylaw stated, “Any male belonging to the Caucasian race, duly enrolled and in good standing in an educational institution in which this Fraternity has a functioning chapter shall be eligible for membership. . .,” but some referred to the “Gentlemen’s Agreement,” an allusion to the 1947 movie in which that phrase was code for exclusionary practices. Slowly, colleges such as Amherst College, Middleberry College, University of Washington, State University of New York, and Colorado State University prohibited the discriminatory practices. Ultimately, some fraternities modified their bylaws after *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Additionally, there were many reports of a segregated housing market affecting black students and Purdue faculty.²⁰⁸

The Interfraternity President's Council planned to publicly recognize the problem of discrimination.²⁰⁹ It advocated steps to change the pledge process along with the creation of a bi-racial committee to study discrimination in Purdue fraternities. It would report its findings no later than May, 1968. John Lee, spokesman for the two "Negro fraternities" on campus, Omega Psi Phi and Kappa Alpha Psi, approved the initiatives as the "first step toward social equality at Purdue."²¹⁰

In May, the presidents of Purdue fraternities discussed a petition mandating suspension of any fraternity that had discriminatory clauses or practiced discrimination within local fraternity houses. A three-fourths majority voted down the proposal, giving as their rationale the Sigma Nu national "non-Negro clause." Presidents recommended re-examining the situation at the conclusion of a fact-finding commission report.²¹¹ Negro fraternity members present at the meeting were outraged and impeached Purdue fraternities for protecting the discrimination clauses, stating that they were "all as bad as Sigma Nu." The Interfraternity Council (IFC) presidents passed a proposal recognizing the seriousness of racial discrimination and pledging to take immediate action. They

²⁰⁸ Michael Salovesh, "Costs of Privilege," *The Purdue Exponent*, April 24, 1968. Professor Michael Salovesh taught sociology on campus and authored a four-point series on racism in the *Exponent*. Exclusion clauses expressly forbade the pledging of certain groups such as "Negroes." The Human Rights Commission of West Lafayette sought to rectify the housing discrimination problem.

²⁰⁹ North-American Interfraternity Council <http://www.nicindy.org> (accessed April 20, 2016). Founded in 1909, the IFC is an international and national trade association for 70 men's fraternities.

²¹⁰ Bob Metzger, "IFC Probes Discrimination," *The Purdue Exponent*, April 25, 1968.

²¹¹ Metzger, "IFC Probes Discrimination."

would openly seek members “regardless of race,” even giving minority students special consideration.²¹²

By the November 1968 rush season, however, conditions had not improved. Rich Meir, IFC vice president, reported that of 1,225 men who rushed, only 10 blacks signed up. Meir speculated that many blacks probably did not try to pledge because they still felt they had no chance of acceptance. The IFC had publicly stated guidelines that each man be judged on his worth as a human being, competing with the overwhelming numbers of whites and the possibility of being blackballed by one member, left little chance for a black man to join a white fraternity.²¹³ Shattering the discriminatory fraternity rules represented an important step in ending de facto segregation and realizing the goals of the civil rights movement and the New Left. Significantly, the fraternities stopped short of mandating suspension of any fraternity with discriminatory clauses or practicing discrimination within local fraternity houses. Unfortunately, Purdue did not maintain records that would reveal how much segregation persisted during the years following the IFC proposal.²¹⁴

²¹² Bob Metzger, “IFC Defeats Anti-Discrimination Move,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 17, 1968. Because of the lack of reference to the earlier initiative to change the fraternities’ pledge process and creation of a bi-racial committee to study discrimination, the failure of the petition may signify the failure of those two proposals as well.

²¹³ Bob Metzger, “Meir Discusses Integration,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 1, 1968.

²¹⁴ Brittany Barnes, Assistant Director of Fraternity, Sorority and Cooperative Life, Purdue University, Phone call (May 30, 2017). Ms. Barnes revealed that Purdue records about minority membership in Purdue fraternities and sororities go back only to the twenty-first century; North-American Interfraternity Conference, December 12, 2016. <http://nicindy.org/news/2016/veronica-moore-join-nic-director-emerging-culturally-based-fraternal-initiatives/> (accessed May 29, 2017). As a show of commitment to “emerging and culturally-based fraternities,” the North-American Interfraternity Conference (NIC) recently announced an African American woman, Veronica Moore, as the Director of Emerging & Culturally-Based Fraternal Initiatives.

In this contentious atmosphere, Purdue blacks modeled the leadership of African American civil rights activists such as Martin Luther King, Jr., the Greensboro Four, and Stokely Carmichael who blazed the trail with nonviolent protests and calls for black pride and community. In June, 1966, former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) activist, Stokely Carmichael, coined the term “black power” as “a call for black people in this country to unite, to recognize their heritage, to build a sense of community . . . to lead their own organizations.” That same year, the Black Panther Party, a revolutionary and socialist organization founded in Oakland, California as a safeguard against police brutality and an organizer of community help programs, influenced young protesters as well.²¹⁵ Within this changed and charged atmosphere, students challenged discrimination and racism at Purdue and the greater Lafayette area. Many students now identified and celebrated themselves as black rather than “Negro” and called on the university to institute change.²¹⁶

In April 1968, the newly-formed Negro History Study Group (NHSG) took an active political role on campus.²¹⁷ The NHSG stressed Negro cultural achievements and held its first meeting at Purdue just twenty days after King’s assassination. At that meeting, the members studied the unique problems faced

²¹⁵ “Stokely Carmichael,” History.com <http://www.history.com/topics/black-history/stokely-carmichael> (accessed January 20, 2017); “Black Panther Party American Organization,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v., <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Black-Panther-Party> (accessed December 22, 2015).

²¹⁶ Van Gosse. *Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretative History*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 32. Students came to refer to the New Left as “the Movement.”

²¹⁷ Sharon Saveland, “The Black Salute . . . expression of identity,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 20, 1968. The Black Student Action Committee was formerly the Negro History Study group which held its first open meeting on April 24, 1968.

by black students at Purdue. These problems included inequitable housing and lack of cultural diversity in Purdue courses.

In May, perhaps in reaction to the national civil rights movement and King's assassination, the Negro History Study Group changed its name to the Black Student Action Committee. On May 15, students, each holding a red brick, walked to the administration offices where, one by one, they solemnly deposited the bricks on the steps before presenting a nine-point petition to the Dean of Men and the Dean of Women. They also placed a large banner on the steps stating, "Or the Fire Next Time," in reference to James Baldwin's book of political essays which described the writer's boyhood and his awareness that he must learn to "inspire fear" in order to survive in the white man's world. Baldwin took the title, *The Fire Next Time*, from a slave song that read in part, "God gave Noah the rainbow sign,/No more water the fire next time."²¹⁸ Bill Smoot remembers the demonstration as very moving, dignified, and well-organized and recalls seeing "heads peeping out the windows behind the curtains" of the administration building because there was "a certain amount of fear" about what would happen next.²¹⁹ But the bricks that may have evoked memories of violent protests, did not symbolize destruction but building blocks for positive change. The list demanded that Purdue University recruit qualified black professors, integrate the content of "segregated" U. S. history courses, and include black arts in the music and art departments. The students asked for the integration of Purdue administration and

²¹⁸ F.W. Dupee, "James Baldwin and the 'Man'," *The New York Review of Books*, February 1, 1963 <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1963/02/01/james-baldwin-and-the-man/> (accessed December 28, 2016).

²¹⁹ Derek Jamar, "Black Purdue Documentary."

student organizations. Further, it addressed the problem of discriminatory housing in West Lafayette faced by black faculty as well as minority students. Finally, the list asked that a course addressing distorted, one-sided American history courses be required for all Purdue students.²²⁰

The University accepted the petition, and President Hovde formed a faculty ad hoc committee “to give immediate attention to it.”²²¹ Hovde publicly recognized “the urgent responsibility” to address the concerns of students, both black and white, sharply contrasting with his lack of response to housing discrimination in 1946. Hovde understood that a reluctance to respond could bring adverse consequences. He quickly organized a meeting of the faculty and the Black Student Action Committee to discuss the recommendations of the petition by the following Monday and formally pledged support in a May 18 memorandum. Hovde iterated the official stance of the university. Purdue would not tolerate racism and would use its moral and legal power to eliminate it. He issued a command to the heads of all departments to seek and employ qualified blacks and to include black cultural, social, and historical contributions in the curriculum. He directed all organizations to eliminate any discriminatory practices. To address housing discrimination, Hovde pledged to investigate the legal implications of the petition’s call to publicize the names of landlords who engaged in such practices. In any event, legal counsel would provide assistance to those who experienced

²²⁰ “List of Demands to the University,” Barbara Cook, Vol. I, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

²²¹ Barbara Cook, Purdue University Library Archives. Members of the ad hoc committee were Professor Reinhardt Schuhmann, engineering, chairman; Don Paarlberg, agricultural economics; Hubert James, physics; Donald King, Psychology; John Tse, industrial management; Meyer Jerison, mathematics and chairman of the Faculty Senate Educational Policy Committee; Earl Bell, animal sciences and chairman of the Faculty Senate Student Affairs Committee; and Norman Pearlman, physics and chairman of the Faculty Senate Faculty Affairs Committee.

housing discrimination. Finally, the school would collaborate with the city's newly-formed Human Relations Commission in its goal of providing equality to all. Hovde warned that the school would not allow violence, force, or coercion by any group.²²²

As these initiatives took form, non-violent protest from another source made quiet but significant strides toward liberalizing the Purdue culture. During the Iowa-Purdue homecoming football game on November 16, 1968, two cheerleaders stood at attention, bowed their heads, and, holding a black pom-pom, extended their right hands in a salute during the performance of the national anthem. This was Purdue's first experience of the "black salute" made famous at the Summer Olympics at Mexico City.²²³ Although a few spectators complained to the administration, that first demonstration went largely unnoticed.²²⁴ As an expression of the New Left, the salute was an impeccable statement about free speech and equality, what historian Van Gosse had characterized as "commitment to a radical form of democracy, and 'power to the people.'"²²⁵ This single symbolic act provoked discussion and raised concern in the nation and at Purdue about not only freedom of expression but racial discrimination and bias.²²⁶ But

²²² Susie Lloyd, "Hovde Accepts Negro Demands," *The Purdue Exponent*, May 21, 1968.

²²³ Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Volume I, Black Salute, 7,7A, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

²²⁴ Advisory Committee on Special Student Problems, "Chronological Account of the Black Salute at Purdue," Barbara Cook, Vol. 7H, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

²²⁵ Gosse, 2.

²²⁶ "The Black Power Salute That Rocked the 1968 Olympics," Time-Life Culture, <http://life.time.com/culture/black-power-salute-tommie-smith-and-john-carlos-at-the-1968-olympics/#> (accessed September 1, 2014). "When Olympic sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos stood atop the medal podium at the 1968 Summer Games in Mexico City, bowed their heads and raised black-gloved fists during the playing of the national anthem, millions of their fellow Americans were outraged. But countless millions more around the globe thrilled to the sight of two men standing before the world, unafraid, expressing disillusionment with a nation that so often fell, and still falls, so short of its promise."

for some on the Purdue campus and in West Lafayette, the strange symbolic signal was an enigma. Was it an expression of radical militancy?

On November 20th, the *Exponent* ran a full page article to answer that question and analyze the meaning of the gesture. It featured a drawing of a man displaying the salute and ended with a quote from “A Black Purdue Student”:

The Black Salute embodies a disenchanted pride. It is the sorrow of knowing that one is a sharecropper of the American Dream. It is the pride that comes in knowing that we can make America what American must become. Freedom . . . bravery . . . they go hand in hand. So though our salute has ambiguous meaning to some people, yet will we not abandon it. The identity of a people is embodied in the bowing of the head and the raising of the arm. Unless America bows her head in shame at the atrocious acts she commits against humanity, then never can America be free. But the hope, the dream, the promise that belongs to all Americans will, with its blessed realization, resurrect America to heights never before achieved by any people. And this is what we want so let that be our common goal, by recognizing our patriotic participation through the Black Salute.²²⁷

Controversy continued when later that semester, at the Indiana game, the two African American cheerleaders again displayed the salute. Was it appropriate behavior for the cheerleaders, representatives of the university? The *Exponent* answered on December 5 with an editorial. The Black Salute symbolized the courage and fortitude that “brought this country independence.” This leadership of the black athlete could help end racism in America. The Black Salute was a “symbol of hope.”²²⁸

²²⁷ Sharon Saveland, “The Black Salute . . . expression of identity,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 20, 1968.

²²⁸ “Symbol of Hope,” Editorial, *The Purdue Exponent*, December 5, 1968.

The basketball season opened, and the salute continued, now in Purdue Arena.²²⁹ At the North Dakota-Purdue basketball game, African American cheerleaders gave the salute during the national anthem.²³⁰ V.J. Miller, Cheerleader Advisor, turned the issue over to the cheerleading squad, but the squad was undecided on how to proceed. Director of Athletics, Guy Mackey, was not. The black salute should not be allowed. Ultimately, the cheerleaders took the matter in their own hands by not going onto the floor until after the playing of the Star Spangled Banner at both the Miami and Butler games. The debate, however, was far from over, now going on at a “high level.”²³¹ On December 13, the day before the Purdue-Ohio University game, the *Exponent* questioned the cheerleaders’ decision to boycott the national anthem ceremony. Wasn’t the Black Salute an individual choice, to be decided on that basis and not part of a group demonstration?²³²

The issue came to a climax on December 14. Some of the cheerleaders attempted to enter the court during the national anthem, but stadium officials stopped them. The Athletic Director, in the absence of a formal decision by the cheerleaders, had issued an order to prevent their admission until after the anthem. Cheerleader Pam King resisted the order and attempted, unsuccessfully, to enter the arena.²³³ King left, and returning in street clothes, was again barred from

²²⁹ Purdue Arena was renamed Mackey Arena in 1972 to honor athletic director Guy Mackey.

²³⁰ Barbara Cook, *Student Unrest Purdue, 1968-1969*, Vol. I, 7, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

²³¹ Cook, Volume I, 7.

²³² “American Pride,” Editorial, *The Purdue Exponent*, December 13, 1968.

²³³ “Who Wants An Anthem?” Editorial, *The Purdue Exponent*, December 16, 1968.

entering the gymnasium, this time for failure to possess a ticket. She promptly resigned from the squad.²³⁴

Two days after the Ohio University game, the *Exponent* ran the story about Pam King's resignation on the front page. The paper also printed an interview with King. She saluted the flag in that way because "it meant something to me. I could salute the flag and be honest." What did it mean? It meant that American Blacks "do not love the fact that we are oppressed in America." King filed a formal complaint with the Dean of Women against the cheerleading organization. Mackey's order to bar the cheerleading squad until after the national anthem was "an act of racial discrimination." King went so far as to suggest that the squad lose its "recognized organization" status.²³⁵

The administration equivocated on the issue. In his campus-wide speech on December 17, President Hovde expressed confusion about what the salute stood for and announced he would support it when he was sure it did not denigrate the flag.²³⁶ On January 2, the Schuhmann Committee, the Senate Advisory Commission on Special Student Problems, set out a summary of its recommendation that the school take no official position on the matter. The salute "did not seem to be a violation either of civil law or of existing University regulations" and had not caused any "known disruptions."²³⁷

²³⁴ Advisory Committee on Special Student Problems "Chronological Account of the Black Salute at Purdue," n.d., Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Vol. I, 1968-1969, Vol. I, 7J, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

²³⁵ Pam King, Memorandum to the Dean of Women, "Cheerleading Squad's Actions on the Black Man's Salute," December 18, 1968, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

²³⁶ Frederick Hovde, "Hovde's Speech Draws Full House," *The Purdue Exponent*, December 19, 1968.

²³⁷ Advisory Committee on Special Student Problems, "Chronological Account of the Black Salute at Purdue."

There was a wide variety of student and community opinions on the matter. Although some members of the community found the salute to be disrespectful, many others did not and found King's explanation acceptable. Any university regulation might be interpreted as "arbitrary infringement of individual freedom. . . or discriminatory."²³⁸ A January 8 memo from the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Student Affairs, A. E. Bell, echoed earlier concerns about the infringement of individual student rights and freedom of expression.²³⁹

On January 8, 1969, the Student Senate agreed that any limitation of the salute was contrary to the law. The salute was an expression protected by the First Amendment, and the Athletic Department's reaction suggested racism. On January 10, the Student Senate sponsored an open forum where King spoke about the incident. The Athletic Department defended its actions, however, calling the black salute an action that was "not in accordance with saluting the flag."²⁴⁰

For the balance of the 1968-1969 school year, the issue remained unresolved. The faculty Student Affairs Committee passed it to other committees. In February 1969, the *Exponent* reprimanded the Athletic Affairs Committee for its lack of leadership in a matter that had been "the source of significant student unrest." Further, "in view of the seriousness of the issue" and the implicit discriminatory overtones, the paper called for the University Senate to issue an

²³⁸ Bill Smoot, "Support Schuhmann Resolution," *The Purdue Exponent*, February 17, 1969.

²³⁹ Memo, Chairman, Senate Committee on Student Affairs, January 8, 1969, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

²⁴⁰ Bob Metzger, "Mackey Not Invited; More talks planned," *The Purdue Exponent*, January 11, 1969.

apology to King and other black students. The University Senate must pass the Schumann Committee's resolution and put an end to the controversy.²⁴¹

On February 18, the University Senate condemned the Athletic Department's discrimination and implicit racism. After discussion with the adjutant committee of the Senate, the University Senate declared that the administration should take no official position on the Black Salute.²⁴² It was an important victory for black pride and freedom of expression.

In the spring of 1969, expressions of black culture again challenged campus administrators. This time, the debate ended with a timely resolution. Track coach Dave Rankin prevented two black athletes, Jimmy Jackson and Mel Harris, from competing in a track meet in Iowa because both wore mustaches that violated the athletic "clean" grooming standard. The *Exponent* characterized such construal of the mustaches as ignorant at best and racist at worst. The Afro haircuts and mustaches were a matter of cultural pride, not defiance.²⁴³ For five days, coaches, athletes, administrators, and the Athletic Affairs Committee sorted through solutions about how to define acceptable grooming practices for athletes. Football coach Jack Mullenkopf had set the standard for the football team by stating to athletes, "If a mustache is part of you, I don't want to deprive you of it."²⁴⁴ Ultimately, the Athletic Affairs Committee concurred, iterating its goal of a "clean, well-groomed appearance" for athletes while allowing for cultural

²⁴¹ Bill Smoot, "Support Schuhmann Resolution."

²⁴² Ron Wray, "Senate Passes Resolution," *The Purdue Exponent*, February 18, 1969.

²⁴³ "Hair," Editorial, *The Purdue Exponent*, April 14, 1969.

²⁴⁴ Steve Pollyea, "Coaches, Athletes to Decide Acceptable Grooming Code," *The Purdue Exponent* April 18, 1969.

expression.²⁴⁵ It took the leadership of a respected football coach to effect change, but the moustache issue was settled in a peaceful, non-confrontational manner, setting an important precedent.

During the 1969 spring semester, approximately one year from the issuance of the nine-point petition, President Hovde received a new set of recommendations from black students. The focus was more extensive than the earlier list of demands, addressing issues of quality of life and the unique black experience on campus and beyond. Black leaders addressed the overall education and environment of black students, the status of black children in the state, the low per capita and per family income, the high rates of infant and maternal mortality, and the high rate of unemployment of black citizens. The student group, chaired by student athlete Eric McCaskill, sent a letter to President Hovde outlining the concerns and proposing a meeting in Fowler Hall to discuss how to make improvements. In response, President Hovde appointed a special ad hoc committee on Special Student Problems to establish a five-year development program to address those issues.²⁴⁶

McCaskill's letter called for deliberate, progressive long-term reform, not "frantic improvisation of an alarmed administration."²⁴⁷ In response, on May 6, the university approved the formation of a Black Student Union, the BSU. In addition, on June 6, campus leaders announced the establishment of a Black Cultural Center along with the beginning of a doctoral fellowship program for

²⁴⁵ Pollyea.

²⁴⁶ "Post Script to Monday Memo," May 5 1969, Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Vol. II, 11A, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

²⁴⁷ McCaskill, Eric, "Letter to President Hovde, Post Script to Monday Memo, May 5, 1969," Barbara Cook, Vol. II, 11A, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

black graduate students, the establishment of a Center for African-American Studies, greater effort in recruitment and retention of black undergraduate students, and “general orientation” of faculty and students toward better understanding of problems unique to black students.²⁴⁸

The proposed charter of the Black Cultural Center (BCC) stated its objectives and purpose. The Center would, through historic artifacts and a library, present “a true picture of the Black’s role in America yesterday, today, and tomorrow” and would encourage mutual respect and cooperation among the races. The center planned to present speakers, provide study rooms, and host seminars and classes. It was to be governed, in part, by students elected by the black student population.²⁴⁹ The Board of Trustees announced appropriations of \$35,000 to help cover the cost of seminars.²⁵⁰

But in September, in a two-page document, black students voiced objections to some of the plans surrounding the proposed Black Cultural Center. The appointment of a white, temporary coordinator was not satisfactory for a position students believed only a black person could fill. Students also objected to university veto power and control of all the money independently raised by the black community.

²⁴⁸ Purdue University, Summer Times, Vol. 10, No. 2, West Lafayette, Indiana, June 20, 1969, Purdue University News, Purdue News Bureau, Lafayette, Indiana, Received Dean of Women, June 20, 1969

Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections. .

²⁴⁹ Charter, Black Cultural Center, p. 13, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections “Blacks defeat charter, 102-97, *The Purdue Exponent*, 23 September 1969. According to Mrs. Helen Bass Williams, the original charter was conceived to be a place for activities such as “dances, special programs relating to the black experience in America and at Purdue, seminars, classes, an Afro-American art collection and tutoring sessions.”

²⁵⁰ Kiki Hinze, “Trustees approve new programs for black students, aviation,” *The Purdue Exponent*, September 18 1969.

A referendum would decide the charter's fate.²⁵¹ An *Exponent* editorial reported that some blacks saw the charter as a "sellout" to white racism, "an inadequate, face-saving document for a white institution." Yet, the *Exponent* suggested that, even though flawed, the charter was probably the best the Board would offer. The student newspaper, however, saw little chance that the charter would be approved by the referendum.²⁵² The *Exponent* was right. Black students narrowly defeated the charter by a vote of 102-97. Only 40% of the black student community voted, and one of the main concerns was the center's lack of independence from the University. Arthur Bond, a member of the nine-member Black Student Advisory Board that drafted the charter, expressed disappointment at the defeat of what he deemed an "honest effort."²⁵³ The administration had not yet earned the trust of the black community.

In October, deliberations continued. Student leader Tommy Lowe headed the discussions. There was a great difference between a Center for Afro-American Studies and a Black Cultural Center. The former would offer courses in subjects such "Afro-American lifestyles, history, urbanization, black sociology, or psychology." A cultural center, on the other hand, would bring forward a "rediscovery of black heritage" and a change in white bureaucracy. By definition, then, it could not be controlled by the "present administration." Leaders planned to purchase a building that would be outside of university control in order to bring

²⁵¹ "Black students again voice objections to charter policies," *The Purdue Exponent*, September 17, 1969.

²⁵² "Of unity and discontent," *The Purdue Exponent*, September 22, 1969.

²⁵³ "Blacks defeat charter, 102-97," *The Purdue Exponent*, September 23, 1969

about the “basic educational change” they desired. They feared that Purdue administrators did not want to bring about true educational reform.²⁵⁴

As the 1969 winter semester concluded, Purdue University hosted “Black Week,” a series of lectures, workshops, and entertainment emphasizing Afro-American “heritage and future.”²⁵⁵ The week ended with a career conference for black students, bringing employers to interact with Purdue and high school students. Former U.S. Ambassador to Ghana and participant in Columbia University’s Urban Center, Franklin L. Williams gave the keynote address entitled, “Mission Possible.” The *Exponent* criticized the week’s activities as better suited to white students. Many black students were disappointed by a review of what they already knew rather than a “charge to go forth and create and change.” What was needed was more than a week, but an “all-season, all-year” black program.²⁵⁶

On March 20, 1969, almost one year after the delivery of the nine-point petition, the *Exponent* reported mixed reviews on the administration’s response. One new black faculty member had been recruited but resigned after only one year to accept a position at the University of Southern California. The integration of student organizations was “meagerly small,” and the administration had not published a list of discriminatory housing. Purdue had secured housing for the newly-recruited black professor, most likely to spare him the embarrassment of an unfriendly community reception. The integration of history courses resulted in

²⁵⁴ “Lowe explains need for black cultural center outside university control,” *The Purdue Exponent*, October 12, 1969.

²⁵⁵ “Former U.S. envoy Williams ends Black Week activities,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 17, 1969.

²⁵⁶ “Black week – and beyond,” *The Purdue Exponent*, November 17, 1969.

one class that was taught by a white professor. The demand for the inclusion of black arts resulted in the Music Department's consideration of a jazz class. The "distortion" class labeled "Industrial Management," taught by Linda Jo Mitchell, was not renewed after one year. Some classes added one book of current black literature as required reading.²⁵⁷

Although the cultural center had not seen fruition, it remained a viable and active proposal, and, in December, 1970, an old converted residence opened its doors as the new Black Cultural Center. Usually called "The Black House," it served primarily as a social gathering place but evolved over the years as a resource center with a diverse array of programs.²⁵⁸

During the next school year, the Black Student Union (BSU) pledged to strengthen the political consciousness of the black student body by "identifying the enemy," and striving to establish an "international outlook." The "enemy" was racism and imperialism identified by some of the more radical groups who had combined nationalism and Marxism, bringing some New Leftists to Third World Marxism. Black students across the nation began to reflect some of the more radical reactions to the tragedies of 1968.²⁵⁹ The new Black Student Union newspaper, *The Black Hurricane*, reflected some of this radical outlook, and

²⁵⁷ "The Problems of Being Black at Purdue: A Supplement to the Purdue *Exponent*, March 20, 1969.

²⁵⁸ "Boiler Nation: Black Cultural Center," [https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=black culture at Purdue](https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=black+culture+at+purdue) (accessed May 1, 2016).

²⁵⁹ Max Elbaum, "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968?" *Radical History Review*, Issue 82, 2002, 37-41, <http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/elbaum.html> (accessed May 20, 2016). Elbaum credits this shift toward radicalization to explain the changes in the SDS and other student movements after the tumultuous events of 1968. "During that single year, SDS went from roughly 30,000 members and 250 chapters to 80,000-100,000 and 350-500 chapters. Its internal politics were becoming both more influenced by Marxism and more factional, due, in part, to the presence of cadres from the then Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PL) since 1966." These factors no doubt influenced some of the black activists on campus who saw their fight against the enemy of racism and an imperialist American government.

published its first issue in November 1970. Its avowed purpose to provide a forum and source of information for Purdue black students, and its motto reflected its resolve: “If you can’t stop a hurricane. . . be one.” *The Hurricane*, an alternative to the existing news services that had no interest in the black student, would help the black community identify their unique problems and provide assistance and leadership in finding answers:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the governed, that whenever form of student government becomes destructive to these ends it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it . . .

The paper listed seven guiding principles: unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, purpose, creativity, and faith. Black cultural identity, pride, and assertiveness supplemented King’s six principles of non-violence.²⁶⁰

The *Hurricane* redefined the role of the Black Student Union and the Black Cultural Center. They were compensation for “300 years of unpaid labor,” reparations owed to the descendants of slaves, not an act of charity, but “payment owed to the Black community.” Educated whites had controlled the means of oppression; therefore, the university was the fitting place to “pay the price.”²⁶¹

“Unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, purpose, creativity, and faith,” represent the idealism of the New Left.

²⁶⁰ *The Black Hurricane: Black Student Union Newspaper Purdue University*, November 17-30, 1970. Volume I, No. 1.

²⁶¹ *The Black Hurricane*, November 17-30.

Dialogue and student moderation brought incomplete realization of student demands, but change, nonetheless, and without violence.

Chapter 3: Nineteen Sixty-Nine and the Centennial Year

Institutions and practices which stifle dissent should be abolished, and the promotion of peaceful dissent should be actively promoted. The first Amendment freedoms of speech, assembly, thought, religion and press should be seen as guarantees, not threats, to national security.

-Tom Hayden, The Port Huron Statement

It was a typical January day in Indiana with temperatures hovering around the freezing mark and one-half inch of new snow.²⁶² Monday, January 6, 1969 was the first day of classes for students back from Christmas break. Things were heating up on campus, however, with the sale of the first edition of *Bauls*, an underground newspaper patterned after and containing articles from West Coast alternative publications.²⁶³ *Bauls of the Brickyard Incorporated*, a member of the Underground Press Syndicate and the Liberation News Service, published the newspaper, and the Peace Union sold it at various campus locations including the Purdue Memorial Union. Students Marty Simon, Jeff Brandt, Will Peters, Carole Scheiber, George Stavis, Scott Dobberstein, Mary Louise Hickman, Stanley Addicks, Margaret McKritrick, Lee Koch, Laurie Hunt, and Noel Beasley made up some of the *Bauls* staff. The newspaper concentrated on a variety of subjects including the “Vietnam War, marijuana, racial equality, and religion.”²⁶⁴

²⁶² <http://www.wunderground.com/history/airport/KLAF/2014/1/3/DailyHistory.html>. The high was 32 with a low of 12. Slightly over one-half inch precipitation was reported.

²⁶³ Barbara Cook, Student Unrest, Volume 1, Section 8, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

²⁶⁴ Collection of Student Newspapers at Purdue University, 1942-2008
<http://www4.lib.purdue.edu/archon/?p=collections/findingaid&id=1511&disabletheme=1>
(accessed December 5, 2016).

The initial issue of *Bauls* captured attention with a nude picture of John Lennon and Yoko Ono from their recent album cover. Dean Barbara Cook reported the language in the publication to be “graphic.”²⁶⁵ The prolonged debate about journalistic freedom, lasting through the second semester, would provide the model for future conversations about censorship and student rights on the Purdue campus. The dialogue would soon heat up about censorship, tuition increases, and the administration’s fidelity to students. Was the administration concerned with student welfare or alumni donations?

Bauls advanced the New Left message and set the course for the movement’s role on the Purdue campus. The newspaper championed the anti-materialistic, anti-militaristic New Left philosophy, that is, “starving kids come before making war.”²⁶⁶ As the Purdue New Left positioned itself to gain ascendancy in the national and state struggles that were about to make headlines, *Bauls* became an important, albeit controversial mouthpiece. It took an unconventional approach to many of the upcoming issues, provoking a passionate debate about libel, obscenity, and socialism.

The administration reacted promptly to the paper’s content. On Tuesday, January 7, Assistant Dean of Men James N. Scott and Associate Dean of Women Cecelia Zissis met with Peace Union president Clark Shimatsu to present the administration’s stance on the publication. The paper must stop sales until legal counsel and two administrative committees, the Student Publication Committee

²⁶⁵ Collection of Student Newspapers at Purdue University, 1942-2008, Section 8a.

²⁶⁶ Jean Colvin, “Bauls Fights for Right to ‘Fill Gap’” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 19, 1969. John Wolfe, a New Left spokesman, was quoted as proclaiming that our country’s mission needed to be reframed.

and the Senate's Committee on Student Affairs, could review the issues. In a letter of the same date, Scott and Zissis contended that the paper was not within the "accepted norms of good taste within the University community," deviating from the "educational objective" of Purdue University. In addition, the administration denied the request that the paper continue distribution pending the outcome of the review. The Peace Union must stop the sale of *Bauls* until further notice.²⁶⁷

Reaction from the Peace Union was equally swift as members openly defied the order and continued campus sales. The administration prohibited arrest of any students who sold the paper but collected evidence by photographing students who violated the order.²⁶⁸ The *Exponent* editorial staff responded on Wednesday, January 8, condemning the action to stop the paper's sales as "one of the most blatant acts against freedom of expression."²⁶⁹ Thus began a protracted war over the First Amendment between administration and student activists.

Any prior argument about censorship of the *Exponent* had focused on the paper's association with Purdue. *Bauls*, on the other hand, was neither supported by the school nor in any way connected with the university. A January 8 *Exponent* editorial supported the sale of *Bauls*. The newspaper was unlikely to find its way into off-campus homes, and only individuals interested in its New Left viewpoint would be motivated to buy it. Freedom of the press was not predicated on reflecting Purdue's agenda. Since *Bauls* in no way impeded the

²⁶⁷ James N. Scott and Cecelia Zissis, letter to Clark Shimatsu, January 7, 1969, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

²⁶⁸ Barbara Cook, Volume I, Section 8, 8, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

²⁶⁹ "Case In Question," Editorial, *The Purdue Exponent*, January 8, 1969.

normal operation of the school, if it expressed ideas different than the mainstream, it was protected by the First Amendment. Still, the administration held to its earlier position on the paper.²⁷⁰

On January 8, the Peace Union posted a copy of *Bauls* and a letter from Dean Scott's to Clark Shimatsu in the reserved display case at the Memorial Center. The administration ordered the removal of the articles from the case and suspended the Peace Union's display privileges until June 8.²⁷¹

The *Exponent* continued the debate on January 9. Dean Scott reiterated his stance that "a student organization. . . [or individual] cannot sell any product or service" without permission from the Purdue Business Office. The university had the right to determine what transpired on school property, and the university deemed the *Bauls* content to be inappropriate.²⁷² In direct contradiction with the administration, the Faculty Action Committee sent a telegram in support of the right of students to distribute any literature they wanted. The FAC sent a telegram to President Hovde, Deans Scott and Zissus, and Police Chief Jones "strongly" objecting to university interference with *Bauls* sales or discipline of students involved in its publication or distribution. In fact, the FAC planned to hand out copies of the newspaper during its January 9 meeting in the Memorial Center.²⁷³

The Purdue and West Lafayette communities showed interest in the debate in which, by now, the Tippecanoe County prosecutor had become involved. The

²⁷⁰ "Case In Question."

²⁷¹ Barbara Cook, Volume I, Section 8, 8.

²⁷² Metzger, Bob, "Students Attempt Sale of 'Bauls'" *The Purdue Exponent*, January 9, 1969.

²⁷³ Faculty Action Committee, "FAC Supports Free Press with Telegram," *The Purdue Exponent*, January 9, 1969.

prosecutor expressed no interest in bringing charges, leaving the subsequent course of action up to the university.²⁷⁴ The next move belonged to the *Bauls* staff, and they countered by contacting an Indianapolis law firm, Erbecker and Manahan. Representing Peace Union members George Stavis, William Peters, Carol Scheiber, and William Davenport, attorney William Erbecker issued a letter to Vice President Donald Mallett. The letter contended that the university's suspension of the publication violated the First and Fourteenth Amendments which guaranteed "freedom of press, speech, assembly, association, the right to assemble, associate and petition for a redress of grievances in the exercise of these rights."²⁷⁵

Deans Scott and Zissis contacted the Student Affairs and Student Publications committees and their own attorney. Could the University pursue legal action against those groups violating the administration's directive? The school's legal counsel advised that the university could not prevent the sale of *Bauls* on the basis of content unless it could be proven that the sale would "impede, obstruct, or threaten" the function of the university. Further, the fact that university plays, books in the library, and assigned coursework often used utilized similar subject matter weakened the case against the paper.²⁷⁶ The county prosecutor agreed. *Bauls* did not violate state obscenity laws and could proceed unimpeded by university censure. One stipulation remained, however. *Bauls* could not use university facilities.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Barbara Cook, Volume I, Section 8, 8.

²⁷⁵ Barbara Cook, Volume I, Section 8, 8.

²⁷⁶ Ron Wray, "Organization – Peace Union Goal," *The Purdue Exponent*, February 12, 1969.

²⁷⁷ Barbara Cook, Volume I, Section 8, 8.

In February, the *Bauls* staff pushed ahead with the second issue, refusing to back down from controversy. The paper focused on censorship and freedom of speech and the recent dispute with Purdue authorities.²⁷⁸ The issue also protested the Vietnam War and entreated young men to refrain from registering with the Selective Service. A quote from Jack London advised young men that, “the lowest aim in your young life is to become a soldier.”

No man can fall lower than a soldier - - it is a depth beneath which we cannot go. Keep the boys out of the army. It is hell. . . . Down with the army and navy. We don't need killing institutions. We need life-giving institutions.

-Jack London, 1913, *International Socialism Review*

Bauls pushed the school's limits even further in the third issue with more nudity and a more “suggestive masthead.”²⁷⁹ The school's legal counsel now believed they had a case since the paper had violated state laws against obscenity. This time, however, before moving forward, President Hovde solicited a wide array of university opinions. He invited members of the Student Affairs Committee, the Faculty Affairs Committee, the deans of colleges of the university, the deans of men and women, the chairman of all faculty standing committees, and the advisors to the president to meet with him Wednesday, February 19. Rick Parker, vice-president of the student body and three representatives from *Bauls*, including Editor Will Peters, also attended the closed meeting.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ Barbara Cook, Volume I, Section 8, 8.

²⁷⁹ Barbara Cook, Volume I, Section 8, 8.

²⁸⁰ Kathie Barnes, "Hovde Meets With Students Concerning BAULS Issue," *The Purdue Exponent*, February 20, 1969.

The administration argued that the second *Bauls* issue was libelous and that the third issue clearly violated obscenity laws. Student response, as expressed through student body government, was united in supporting the paper's continued sales. Students had the choice of whether or not to patronize the paper. Overall, the faculty supported the student position, but some feared public backlash could result in reduced state funding. Hovde promised to take the matter to the Board and adjourned the meeting.²⁸¹

On March 6, two months from the first sale of the paper, the Board of Trustees announced that the university would not pursue any legal action against *Bauls*. President Hovde stated it had become obvious that few in the university community would support suppression of the paper's sale.²⁸² *Bauls* did not "appeal to prurient interests," the standard established by *Roth v. United States*, but rather sought to raise political awareness and provide a "complete synthesis of art and politics."²⁸³ The university would not set standards higher than those "permitted by law." Rather, protracted, logical discussion by all parties would produce the best result.²⁸⁴ The Board did vote, however, to make a public statement in its general session Wednesday, explaining the university's legal inability to take any action against the paper. Although many questions remained

²⁸¹ Kathie Barnes, "Hovde Meets With Students Concerning BAULS Issue."

²⁸² Board of Trustees, Minutes, March 4-5 1969, 11.

²⁸³ Oyez, IIT Chicago-Kent College of Law, "*Roth v. United States*," <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1956/582> (accessed November 23, 2015). Erbecker and Manahan used the argument stated in the 1956 Supreme Court case *Roth v. United States*, where the Court subjected printed material to the following test, "whether to the average person applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole applies to prurient interests; Jean Colvin, "Bauls Fights for Right to 'Fill Gap'" *The Purdue Exponent*, May 19, 1969.

²⁸⁴ Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Volume I, Section 8, 8A, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

unanswered, the Board of Trustees believed the controversy had been handled with “restraint” that set important precedents for future challenges.²⁸⁵

In April, *Bauls* published its last issue of the school year. Debate about the New Left publication had brought out important questions. What is the definition of obscenity? What is public and private? How does the university deal with protest? How far did First Amendment protection extend to university students?²⁸⁶

That spring, the *Exponent* published an article on the recent *Bauls* controversy, focusing on the legal issues surrounding the paper’s content and whether or not it fell under the definition of pornography. *Bauls*’ editor, Marty Simon, maintained that the paper’s primary purpose was to communicate the New Left lifestyle, thereby motivating “middle class” America to shun the trappings of material wealth. The paper provided an alternative to the university-sponsored *Exponent*, reflecting New Left subcultures from Liberal “Kennedy and McCarthy workers to hard-core radicals.” Liberals and Radicals had the same views, but according to Peace Union member Rex Mead, Liberals still had faith in the system. In contrast, New Left Radicals were ready to begin a new system, and *Bauls* provided an important forum for discussion.²⁸⁷

On April 7, much of the controversy surrounding the underground newspaper was answered with the long-awaited approval of the Student Bill of Rights. After much discussion and collaboration, the Board of Trustees announced its approval

²⁸⁵ Board of Trustees, Minutes, March 4-5, 1969, 11.

²⁸⁶ Ron Wray, “Trustees Meet to Discuss Budget and Student Rights,” *The Purdue Exponent*, March 6, 1969.

²⁸⁷ Jean Colvin, “Underground Newspapers: Their Purpose, People,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 20, 1969.

“with modifications” and thanked the Student Senate and the University Senate for their diligent effort.²⁸⁸ The Preamble to the document began with the following: “We, the students, hereby endorse the Purdue Honor Code and the following Bill of Rights, expecting in all instances that the students will follow these documents with maturity and a level of responsibility which enables the University to attain its academic excellence.” Article 7 clearly allowed student-directed publications to be distributed on campus without administrative censorship or encumbrance, subject only to state regulated standards. In Article 13, student organizations gained the right to use university facilities in accordance with school guidelines.²⁸⁹

Article 9 answered other long-debated issues by providing students a “clearly defined means to participate in the formulation of University policy affecting academic and student affairs, liberalizing their role in university decision-making.” The document also outlined appropriate student penalties, guaranteeing “substantive and procedural” due process, the right to appeal, and the right of protection against duplicate penalties imposed by civil and university authorities.²⁹⁰

During the winter of 1968-69, another concern came to the attention of students. Rumors circulated that the legislature planned to cut back funding for higher education, potentially leading to state-wide public university fee increases.

²⁸⁸ Board of Trustees, Minutes, April 24, 1969.

²⁸⁹ Monday Memo, April 7, 1969, Barbara Cook, Volume II, 10EE, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

²⁹⁰ Cook, “Monday Memo,” April 7, 1969.

Purdue students would take an activist lead in the state, advocating first for more state appropriations, and then vigorously opposing tuition increases.

In December, 1968, the Purdue Student government sent a group to the Statehouse to lobby for increased appropriations for higher education. Soon after, the *Exponent* released information confirming that the state was not planning to increase expenditure on higher education and that it intended to reduce the budget for state schools. That same month, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Maurice Knoy, spoke to an American Association of University Professors (AAUP) luncheon where he enlisted the support of university faculty to conduct a state-wide appeal to preserve university funding.²⁹¹

When students returned to class in January, it was with renewed concern about state finances. The *Exponent* ran an article on the financial crisis in the state, and Purdue lobbyists continued to advocate for the protection of university funding. On February 27, President Hovde met with the newly-elected Governor Edgar Whitcomb to discuss the impact on education. Despite the state's recent tax increases, Whitcomb inherited a fiscally unsound budget that he pledged to balance. Whitcomb's predecessor, Governor Roger Branigin had supported higher education through the expansion of scholarships to Hoosier students. Although a frugal steward of the state's money, Branigin had also instituted expensive initiatives such as mandatory vehicle inspections and improvements to state

²⁹¹ Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Volume II, Section 9, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

correctional facilities, highways, parks, forests, and nature preserves while backing the repeal of personal property taxes on household goods.²⁹²

In 1968, Edgar Whitcomb ran for governor on a platform of fiscal conservatism, promising not to raise taxes and to improve government efficiency. Whitcomb ran as the most conservative Republican candidate, competing for the nomination against the moderate state House Speaker Otis Bowen and a Purdue dean, Earl Butz.²⁹³ The popularity of Richard Nixon, who defeated Democrat Hubert Humphrey in Indiana by a 12 percent margin, helped secure Whitcomb's ascension from the Secretary of State to governor and locked up a Republican majority in both houses.²⁹⁴

By 1969, the budget had changed drastically from the post-depression era. In the interim, the legislature had reformed the old Budget Committee to a new state Budget Agency, rendering the executive branch directly responsible for submitting the budget. The legislature now appropriated over a billion dollars each biennium as Indiana entered a more "complex" and "expensive" era. New tax laws implemented during the Depression remained in effect in the 1960s. A gross income tax of 1 percent, an intangibles tax, and several excise taxes, came to take the burden off property taxes which now supplied only 8.5 percent of the budget. More significantly, by 1969, less than 10 percent of total expenditures went to general government, funds for public safety and corrections, benevolent

²⁹² Linda Gugin and James E. St. Claire, ed., *The Governors of Indiana*, (Indianapolis: Historical Society Press, 2006), 349.

²⁹³ John Gizzi, "Conservative Indiana Gov. Edgar Whitcomb Remembered," Newsmax Media, Inc. <http://www.newsmax.com/John-Gizzi/indiana-edgar-whitcomb-remember-funeral/2016/02/13/id/714192/> (accessed April 18, 2016).

²⁹⁴ Gugin and St. Claire, 354.

institutions, and higher education. Since these institutions had been well-established after 1930, they failed to command major legislative attention even though universities required even more money as they expanded to regional campuses and enrollment grew.²⁹⁵ Governor-elect Whitcomb assailed his predecessor for his “excessive spending and laxity in management,” and pledged to initiate greater fiscal responsibility, saying he felt bound by the Indiana Constitution not to assume debt and look to other cost-reducing measures to balance the budget.²⁹⁶

Tax issues presented the most problems during Whitcomb’s term as governor. Even though he enjoyed a Republican majority in the legislature, most were moderates from urban areas of the state and demonstrated little support for a governor who represented the rural, “old guard” of the party. Nonetheless, Whitcomb was able to push through the Governor’s Economy Program (GEP) run by sixty private industry experts who examined state agencies and suggested strategies to improve fiscal efficiency in the state government. Over Whitcomb’s four-year term, the GEP saved the state almost \$50 million. Whitcomb also cut the number of state employees and even rescinded some salary increases. True to his promise, Whitcomb increased state revenue through a dedicated program to close tax loopholes and revise revenue processing. One controversial cost-saving measure included the imposition of a tuition increase on state institutions of higher learning.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Justin E. Walsh, *The Centennial History of the Indiana General Assembly*, Indianapolis: The Select Committee on the Centennial History of the Indiana General Assembly, 1987, 560-563.

²⁹⁶ Gugin and St. Claire, 355.

²⁹⁷ Gugin and St. Claire.

President Hovde appealed to the governor for support for the state schools, for which “the implications of such a drastic budget” were momentous, stating that any cuts in state funding would either compromise the quality of higher education in Indiana or put an untenable burden on students. Further, the fee increase would probably be significant, amounting to about \$300 or \$400 per year per student, making university’s costs unaffordable to many. Student lobbyists planned to attend the Senate Finance Committee hearings on February 27, this time to persuade legislators to reconsider the budget cuts to Purdue.²⁹⁸ On February 28, the student paper reported the governor’s response. He would not be swayed; the students would pay their “share” of education.²⁹⁹

Throughout the month of March, the *Exponent* followed the controversy, asking how the school could ensure high standards under the burden of budget cuts and predicting that any actual tuition increase amounts would have to wait until the General Assembly made its final decision. On March 6, the paper reported that Lytle J. Freehafer, Vice President and Treasurer of the university,

²⁹⁸ Kathie Barnes and Mike Waters, “Hovde, Sutton, Meet with Governor Whitcomb, *The Purdue Exponent*, February 27, 1969.

²⁹⁹ Mike Waters, “Whitcomb Asks For School Funds Cut; Students to Pay Their ‘Share,’” *The Purdue Exponent*, February 28, 1969.; In.Gov, <http://www.in.gov/governorhistory/2336.htm> (accessed April 10, 2017). It is difficult to assess the political impact of Whitcomb’s fiscal assault on higher education. According to the 1851 Indiana Constitution, Whitcomb was precluded to run again for governor in 1972. The year Whitcomb left office, voters ratified a Constitutional amendment allowing Governors to serve successive terms. His successor, Republican Dr. Otis Bowen, won in 1972 to go on to become the first governor since 1851 to serve two consecutive four-year terms. Like Whitcomb, he ran on a major tax restructuring platform reducing state budgetary dependence on property taxes.; N.Y. Times Obituaries, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/06/us/edgar-d-whitcomb-a-former-indiana-governor-dies-at-98.html> (accessed April 10, 2017).; In 1976, however, Whitcomb sought the Republican nomination for United States senator but lost to Richard G. Lugar, who then defeated incumbent Democrat, Vance Hartke, in the general election.

spoke to the trustees about the budget and the school's financial picture, calling it a "bleak picture."³⁰⁰

On March 12, the *Exponent's* lead story published the numbers confirming President Hovde's prediction: Due to a \$900,000 state budget cut for Purdue's funding allocation, in-state Purdue tuition was likely to rise to \$700 and out-of-state would increase to \$1,700 per year. Not only that, planned improvements and construction of new academic buildings would be postponed.³⁰¹ The news quickly mobilized student and faculty. On March 17, The *Exponent* and Alpha Phi Omega conducted a poll in Memorial Union to gauge student reaction. Only 19% of the 1,000 students questioned said they would be likely to return in the fall. The other 81% said they would not be able to attend Purdue without additional financial aid.³⁰² Four days later, Executive Assistant to President Hovde, Dr. John Hicks, along with Fred Ford, Associate Business Manager and Professor James Papke, President of American Association of University Professors, conducted a "Fee Forum" at Loeb Playhouse. Hicks most surely had not won favor with the group when he warned that student activism might be costing the support of the legislature and in fact entrenching the "legislative cuts" they were protesting.³⁰³ Of the two hundred students attending, the most outspoken were black students, with Homer LaRue and Linda Jo Mitchell LaRue most vocally protesting the fee

³⁰⁰ Ron Wray, "Trustees Meet to Discuss Budget and Student Rights," *The Purdue Exponent*, March 6, 1969.

³⁰¹ Diana Ritter, "State Fund Cut Means Fee Increase," *The Purdue Exponent*, March 12, 1969.

³⁰² Cathy Thomas and Betsy Bland, "Poll Shows Students to Leave," *The Purdue Exponent*, March 18, 1969. Respondents represented an approximate 50-50 distribution of in-state and out-of-state students. Approximately one-third of those surveyed anticipated attending another school. Some expressed bitterness toward the state, indicating an intention to find work elsewhere when they graduated.

³⁰³ Diana Ritter, "Hicks to Speak at Forum Today," *The Purdue Exponent*, March 18, 1969.

increases. African-American students were the most vocal opponents of the tuition increase and with good reason. Loss of the college draft deferment could have dire consequences for many. From 1961 to 1966, African-Americans made up 13 percent of the U.S. population but accounted for almost 20 percent of combat deaths in Vietnam. Further, during the Vietnam War, African-Americans had a greater chance than their white counterparts of being on the “front-line, and consequently a much higher casualty rate.” By 1965, they represented almost one-fourth of those killed in action.³⁰⁴ LaRue stated that tuition increases would impact black students’ ability to continue their education and would negatively impact the development of black activities and course development on campus. The long range effect, he said, “will lead to a holocaust that will leave nobody with anything.”³⁰⁵

The administration’s official announcement on the tuition increase came in a March 19 memorandum from the Purdue University Office of Admissions. The reduction of state funding of almost \$1 million was to take place despite a projected growth of 1,400 students at Purdue and “inflationary increases” that would impact consumer goods and services. The University had no recourse but to increase student tuition. To do anything else would result in “loss of faculty, supporting staff, equipment, and services,” an unacceptable outcome that would diminish the quality and value of a Purdue education. Thus, beginning in

³⁰⁴ History Detectives: Special Investigations, <http://www.pbs.org/opb/historydetectives/feature/african-americans-in-combat> (accessed December 5, 2016).

³⁰⁵ Paul J. Buser, “An Eye on Purdue,” *The Purdue Exponent*, October 14, 1968. Columnist and fraternity president Paul Buser referred to Homer LaRue and Linda Jo Mitchell as some of Purdue’s “benevolent dreamers.” They led the Black Action Committee and spoke out early on about the idea of the races working together; Skip Wollenberg, “Fee Forum Explains Increase,” *The Purdue Exponent*, March 19, 1969.

September 1969, in-state tuition would increase by 75 percent, and for out-of-state students, the increase would be 33 percent. For the 1969-1970 school year, Purdue faced a six million dollar deficit that the increased tuition would just cover.³⁰⁶

The Admissions Office was sympathetic to the burden this placed on students. When at all possible, qualified students would continue to receive financial assistance. Further, the admissions office would refund advance deposits to any student who, because of the increase, was unable to attend Purdue. The administration expressed clear disappointment in the legislature's decision, and the *Exponent* quoted Hovde as saying that the university would try to reduce fees in the future.³⁰⁷ For now, however, the increase remained.

Students and staff were skeptical of the administration's explanation of why the increase was necessary. In a March 26 *Exponent* editorial, the Faculty Action Committee accused the administration of being less than truthful about the necessary increases. Philosophy professor Kermit Scott warned that such cuts have more than financial ramifications.³⁰⁸ Some students would face deployment to Vietnam, creating an affluent student body at state institutions. Scott demanded that students and administrators examine the true purpose of the university. Had the confusion of values in institutions of higher learning become so skewed that protesters are reproved for activism because it might be offensive

³⁰⁶ Mallett, Donald, "New Fee and Tuition Costs for the Lafayette Campus," Purdue University Office of Admissions, March 19, 1969.

³⁰⁷ Ron Wray, "Fee Increases, Rights Bill Passed," *The Purdue Exponent*, March 20, 1969.

³⁰⁸ "Theodore K. Scott, Jr. 71," Obituaries, *Lafayette Journal and Courier*, June 6, 2008.

to some?³⁰⁹ College enrollment of young men rose from 54 percent in 1963 to 62 percent in 1968, the year of the highest draft rate.³¹⁰ Many economically underprivileged youth who had sought a legal exemption from serving in a war they opposed philosophically could now face deployment.

After Spring Break, students wasted no time in calling for a boycott of the Purdue Memorial Union and an all-out student protest of the fee increase. On April 11, the *Exponent* reported that a “grass roots committee,” comprised of Homer LaRue, Bill Smoot, Rick Parker, Mark Munsell, Rich Meir, and Abe Farkas, were planning a boycott of all the services in the Memorial Union including the barber shop, the Sweet Shop, the bowling alley, information desks, and the pool room.³¹¹ Pam King’s letter to the Editor implored parents, particularly white ones, to vote the legislature out of office.³¹² Homer and Linda LaRue called for an alternative solution to the financial crisis, one that did not involve tuition increases. Others raised questions. For example, why did the dean of men and women need operating expenses of \$300,000 per year?³¹³ Protest coordinators were well-organized, linking their actions with news agency wire services, newspapers, and television. Purdue’s New Left had taken a state-wide leadership role in protesting the fee hikes.

³⁰⁹ Kermit Scott, “Faculty Action Committee,” *The Purdue Exponent*, March 26, 1969.

³¹⁰ David Card and Thomas Lemieux, “Going to College to Avoid the Draft: The Unintended Legacy of the Vietnam War,” *The American Economic Review* 91, no. 2 (2001), 97.

³¹¹ Bert Gault, “Boycott, Rally Monday to Protest Fee Hike,” *The Purdue Exponent*, April 11, 1969.

³¹² Pamela Tyson King, “Reader Urges Fee Action by White Parents,” *The Purdue Exponent*, April 11, 1969.

³¹³ Stephanie Salter, “Protesters Boycott Union, Administrators Concerned,” *The Purdue Exponent*, April 14, 1969.

With widespread campus support, the Union boycott began on Monday, April 14. Approximately 800 students attended, and some members of the Purdue faculty lent support. Students served coffee and donuts at the campus St. Thomas Aquinas Church, although church officials took no position on the boycott, calling themselves “an open ground for all student activities.” Food Lines Committee members served 200 lunches on the University Mall. Proceeds from a scheduled Peace Union dance featuring the Grateful Dead were earmarked to purchase food and fund student legal aid.³¹⁴

Two hundred students, along with Paul Buser, met with Executive Dean Donald Mallett. They questioned, among other things, why the fee increase was passed before the state budget had been finalized and why funds earmarked for educational purposes had been used in non-educational areas. They pledged to ask the same questions of President Hovde.³¹⁵ Meanwhile, music and food continued on the Mall during the third day of the Union boycott.³¹⁶

On April 16, rally organizers published boycott demands. Besides rescinding fee increases, leaders requested a “public meeting between student representatives, President Hovde, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and Governor Whitcomb.” They demanded a student seat on the Board of Trustees with complete voting rights along with the establishment of a joint student-faculty committee that would determine how Centennial Fund moneys were to be spent. Rally directors called for a student-faculty committee to investigate the “financial

³¹⁴ Eckert, Betsy, “Foodlines, Dance, Support Boycott,” *The Purdue Exponent*, April 16, 1969.

³¹⁵ Barbara Cook, *Student Unrest Purdue*, Volume II, Section 9, 9III, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

³¹⁶ Barbara Cook, *Student Unrest Purdue*, Volume II, 9KKK, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

operations of the university” primarily those relating to the Purdue Memorial Union and university corporations and foundations. “Economically deprived” students should be admitted to the university “tuition free.” All “discriminatory practices” in academic and athletic matters must end. Finally, Memorial Union employees should not experience any financial hardship resulting from the boycott.³¹⁷ Later, student leaders reduced the demands to just two: They wanted fee increases to be rescinded and a voting seat on the Board of Trustees. All other demands could be negotiated when those two goals were realized.³¹⁸

Paul Buser called for a spirit of cooperation, quoting the Columbia University Cox Commission Report.³¹⁹ The report found that active student involvement brings understanding between students, faculty, the administration, and the alumni.³²⁰ The university was at a crossroads, weathering the *Exponent* censorship crisis, the Union boycott, and the athletic grooming code. If, as Beverly Stone had claimed, the university’s centennial year was a “rebirth of another century,” new challenges must be an opportunity for open discussion and

³¹⁷ “The Boycott Demands,” Student Unrest Purdue, Flyer, n.d., Barbara Cook, Section 9, 9FFF.

³¹⁸ Betsy Eckert, “Boycotters Meet, Make Future Plans,” *The Purdue Exponent*, April 18, 1969.

³¹⁹ Columbia University Libraries, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New York
https://www.google.com/search?q=Columbia+University+Libraries%2C+Rare+Book+and+Manuscript+Library%2C+New+York.&rlz=1C1GKLB_

(accessed December 2015). The Cox Commission Report was a study conducted by Archibald Cox. Organized at the request of the Executive Committee of the Faculty, the Cox Commission was given the mandate to establish a chronology of events leading up to and including the Columbia crisis, and to inquire into the underlying causes of those events. The Commission held twenty-one days of hearings during May 1968, heard testimony from seventy-nine witnesses, and compiled 3,790 pages of transcript. The report, published in a paperback edition on September 26, 1968, stressed the lack of effective channels of communication between administration, faculty, and students, and endorsed implicitly the Executive Committee's idea for a representative University Senate.

³²⁰ Paul Buser, “An Eye on Purdue,” *The Purdue Exponent*, April 18, 1969.

the airing of differences. Purdue must exemplify respect for opposing viewpoints. Only that respect could bring true understanding.³²¹

Some university professors refused salary increases in support of students. The fee increase called up issues of class conflict and upward mobility. Political Science Professor Harry Targ explained the philosophical position of those faculty members who were pledging their salary increases to supplement tuition payments for students unable to pay the increase. A university education was a non-revolutionary means of economic betterment. The increase was a severe impediment to great numbers of young men and women who want to achieve “physical and psychological” fulfillment and affected an entire class of people who looked to the university as a beacon of hope. The intended, or unintended, effect of the tuition hike was the subjugation of those in society who do not have access to other resources, but in many ways it was more than that. It was a racist policy. And, in 1969, for some Purdue students, it meant certain deployment to Vietnam. Because the decision-making process had not involved the “university community,” those faculty members who wished not to be involved in such a policy would support students in their own way by foregoing salary increases.³²²

In the midst of an increasingly contentious debate, Students for Responsible Action (SRA) called for student moderation in going forward. After all, President Hovde had extended a “permanent invitation” to the president of the student body of Purdue for all executive sessions, granting to that office the same speaking privileges as administrators. Further, President Hovde had contacted Governor

³²¹ Buser, “An Eye on Purdue.”

³²² Harry Targ, “Faculty Action Committee,” *The Purdue Exponent*, April 18, 1969.

Whitcomb requesting a meeting of Hovde, Governor Whitcomb, and officers of the Student Body. The university was attempting to work with the state government, and all forthcoming communication should be directed to the legislature and governor, not school administrators. The State Board of Accounts monitored the “balance of university operations,” and each of the supplementary entities had independent, external audits in order to answer any questions of impropriety.³²³

Students and faculty soon called for oversight of Purdue and state financial accounts. Outside the Union, placards encouraged the boycott, reading “Poor Management Not Lack of Funds” and “Does Purdue Really Own \$15,000,000 in common stock?” Some protesters saw the boycott as “the start of a revolution,” and others said they supported it in principle, if not in practice. Some students lamented that the tuition increase could force them to withdraw from the university.³²⁴

The *Lafayette Journal and Courier* placed the blame for the financial crisis on the legislature. Students were understandably angry, but the university was not the responsible party. It was true that students had been slow to react when then-student body president Rick Parker first sounded the alarm. Now, the dissent at Purdue was uniting the “radical left” with moderates as student leaders rallied around an issue with serious implications for all Hoosiers. College students and

³²³ Students for Responsible Action, “The Facts,” Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

³²⁴ Kiki Hinze, “Reactions Appear By Students,” *The Purdue Exponent*, April 21, 1969.

their parents must share the blame for their apathy, but the protesters were to be commended for their clear objectives and focused activism.³²⁵

Despite attempts at mediation, the fee hike controversy intensified, and with it, student activism. A policy that affected white, middle class students united radicals and moderates in a way that racial discrimination had not. On April 21, police arrested students as a result of an all-day sit-in at the Purdue University administrative offices. Students began the sit-in when administrators denied them access to a university budget hearing. Although the Peace Union urged students to stay when the police arrived, the Civil Liberties Union representative advised students to vacate the building by closing time, 5 p.m. Many left, but police arrested 41 students, transporting 14 to the city jail and confining the rest to conference rooms in the administration building. Student government leaders called for “a cooling of passions” and counseled student activists to “work thorough channels.” The University Forum, a new faculty group, advised communication through orderly procedures and rational discussion, condemning boycotts and “political revolution.”³²⁶

At 4 p.m. that afternoon, President Hovde met with members of the Student Government, the Interfraternity Council, and the Student Coalition Committee who requested that all 41 students be released.³²⁷ Hovde issued the statement that “every member of Purdue’s administration has honored every request to meet

³²⁵ John Scott, “Austerity is the governor’s bag, but Purdue is left holding it,” *The Lafayette Journal-Courier*, April 26, 1969.

³²⁶ “Statements Pour Forth in Wake of Purdue Flareup,” *The Lafayette Journal- Courier*, April 22, 1969.

³²⁷ Members of the Coalition, “Student Leaders Form Coalition,” Letter to the Editor, *The Purdue Exponent*, April 22, 1969. The original organizers of the boycott were now working with members of a coalition comprised of radical and conservative students. The goal of the group was to represent all facets of the student body and bring unity to the university

with responsible student groups through the years and would continue to do so.” Hovde granted amnesty to the 41 student arrestees on the condition that all other students clear the building. After seven hours’ occupation, demonstrators walked out chanting “rescind the fee increase.” Afterward, student body president Dick Kiefer and vice president Dennis Hatfield called for cooperation to settle future conflicts. Meanwhile, the administration would ask the Board to put off discussing the budget until their next meeting.³²⁸

On the night of Tuesday, April 22, Hovde met with a group of student representatives. Students expressed concern that they lacked representation on vital university boards and participation in all “functions of the university” needed to make an “educational and economical self-examination.” Student apathy emanated from a sense of student powerlessness. Did President Hovde feel strongly enough about the tuition increase to show support by resigning, as had the president of City College of New York? Hovde answered by pledging to ask the governor for a special session of the legislature to address education funding.³²⁹

In the meantime, protesters planned to travel to Indianapolis to ask Governor Whitcomb for an additional voting seat on the Board of Trustees and six million dollars in funds, and they invited President Hovde to accompany them. Hovde, however, saw “no useful purpose” in accompanying the students and dodged questions about the voting seat on the Board of Trustees.³³⁰ Subsequent to the

³²⁸ Ron Thornburg, “Student Protesters Granted Amnesty After 41 Arrests,” *The Purdue Exponent*, April 22, 1969.

³²⁹ Hovde to ask for special session,” *The Purdue Exponent*, Wednesday, April 23, 1969.

³³⁰ “Hovde to ask for special session,” April 23, 1969.

rally, Purdue students traveled to Indiana University in Bloomington to enlist student support for the fee reduction and the March on Indianapolis. The Purdue student leaders hoped to involve Ball State University and Indiana State University as well.³³¹

On Wednesday, April 23, students met again for an organizational rally. Student leaders explained the proper procedure for calling a special session of the legislature and asked students to write legislators from their districts. President Dick Kiefer called for students to lobby and reported that twelve legislators had already pledged support for the special session. Students demanded a written transcript of President Hovde's phone conversation with Governor Whitcomb. Student leaders also pledged that any money raised would be used to finance student transportation to Indianapolis and television air time. Additionally, they called for students to refrain from submitting their preregistration forms until June and encouraged them to request financial aid forms.³³² A vigorous letter-writing campaign with a goal of 10,000 students requesting a new session began.³³³

The administration and the Board quickly took additional steps to address student concerns. Hovde authorized an additional \$800,000 in financial aid.³³⁴ He contacted Governor Whitcomb to set up a meeting with the governor and the presidents and student government leaders of the four state institutions.³³⁵ The Board of Trustees, in compliance with Article 9 of the Student Bill of Rights,

³³¹ "Students Enlist I.U. Support On Fee Issue," *The Purdue Exponent*, April 24, 1969.

³³² Kiki Hinze, "Students Discuss Procedures, Projects, Pressures at Rally," *The Purdue Exponent*, April 24, 1969.

³³³ "Student Gov't. Launches Letter Writing Campaign," *The Purdue Exponent*, April 24, 1969.

³³⁴ O.D. Roberts and Beverly Stone, "Do You Know?" Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Volume II, Section 9, 9AAAAA, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

³³⁵ Ron Wray, "Whitcomb Balks on Special Session; Will Meet Presidents," *The Purdue Exponent*, April 25, 1969.

voted unanimously to invite the President of the Student Body to attend all “regular meetings of the Board of Trustees” where he or she would have the same status as administrators, a speaking seat.³³⁶ The Board also acknowledged student demands for heightened involvement in the budgetary committee, the University Senate, and the academic schools and departments in the university.³³⁷

The University Senate supported student calls for a special session of the legislature and established an “ad hoc” faculty and student committee to consider the budget and make recommendations to President Hovde. As a concession to student demands, a 29-27 vote backed a resolution preventing university police from carrying “sidearms or other lethal weapons,” presumably in reaction to police presence on other campuses. The Senate also corroborated students’ rights to peacefully “assemble, demonstrate, and boycott,” but reiterated a “firm policy” for dealing with campus disruption. Reasonable channels of communication, “including peaceful demonstration and open debate” would lessen the chances for campus discord.³³⁸

On the other hand, the governor and some state legislators expressed hostility toward student activists. On April 25, the *Exponent* reported that Governor Whitcomb publicly doubted the sincerity of student demands and refused to call for a special legislative session. The governor was more concerned with student unrest and “disturbances” than he was with the tuition crisis. Was control of the

³³⁶ Kiki Hinze, “Trustees Grant Speaking Seat,” *The Purdue Exponent*, April 25, 1969.

³³⁷ O.D. Roberts, Beverly Stone, “Do You Know?”

³³⁸ Allan Friedman, “University Senate established ad hoc budget committee,” *The Purdue Exponent*. April 29, 1969.

universities to be maintained by the boards of trustees or radicals?³³⁹ Republican Indiana State Majority Leader Allan E. Bloom heightened tensions by questioning the relevance of demands from people who haven't "contributed much to society."³⁴⁰

On Monday, April 29, Indiana University held a forum attracting 8,000 students at the Bloomington campus. In-state IU students faced a two-thirds fee increase and out-of-state students an increase of \$220 per year. Students issued a two-day ultimatum to the administration to demonstrate evidence of actions to cut the budget. In addition, student government leader, Mark Oring, pledged student support for the upcoming March on Indianapolis.³⁴¹ Purdue activists continued to plan the march to the Indianapolis State House. They ran a full-page ad in the Indianapolis Star and continued lobbying efforts at the Legislature. President Hovde spoke to Purdue students and vowed to protect their right to protest in an "orderly manner."³⁴²

In the midst of student unrest and concern over the state budget, the Gala Week of Purdue University's Centennial Celebration began as planned on May 5.³⁴³ During that week, 1,500 alumni gathered to commemorate the founding of Purdue by taking the traditional march to pay respects to John Purdue's grave and enjoying scheduled banquets and sporting events. In the mind of many student

³³⁹ Ron Wray, "Whitcomb Balks On Special Session; Will Meet Presidents," *The Purdue Exponent*, April 25, 1969.

³⁴⁰ Ron Thornburg, "Students React to Sen. Bloom," *The Purdue Exponent*, April 25, 1969.

³⁴¹ Kathie Barnes, "IU fee forum attracts 8,000," *The Purdue Exponent*, April 29, 1969.

³⁴² *The Exponent*, May 5, 1969, Barbara Cook, Student Unrest, Volume II, 9LLLLLL, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

³⁴³ Purdue University Newsreel <http://www4.lib.purdue.edu/spcol/newsreels/1969.html> (accessed July 13, 2014).

activists, it was a most propitious time to publicize the financial problems at the school.

Confrontation began brewing two weeks prior to the Gala celebration when students staged a “live-in” at the southwest lounge of the Memorial Union to protest tuition hikes. President Hovde allowed the protesters to remain until Monday, May 5, the beginning of the Centennial Week, when he ordered them to leave. Many refused to budge. Then, during the early hours of the morning on Founders’ Day, May 6, police in riot gear arrested 229 protesters, a number that would resonate long after the event. Two hundred twenty-one students, three faculty, one clerical employee, and four non-university persons were arrested.³⁴⁴ Lt. Rex Dillman, Commander of the West Lafayette Post of State Police, later reported that troopers, who had come in peacefully, had been “hit in the head, kicked in the shins, spat upon, and had rocks and dirt thrown at them,” by students outside the building.³⁴⁵ The police held the 229 in the ballroom, charged them with trespassing, and released them without bond.³⁴⁶

In reaction to the arrests, on the afternoon of Tuesday, May 6, 3,000 students gathered outside the administration building, and 150 staged themselves inside the Executive Office. Students sang, ate candy bars, and sat in reception chairs outside President Hovde’s office.³⁴⁷ Purdue administrators and Governor Whitcomb threatened school suspension for those arrested that morning. The

³⁴⁴ Cathy Thomas, “Arrested Students Get Continuances,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 8, 1969; Herbert Schaller, Memorandum, “To All Students, Faculty, and Staff of Purdue University,” University News Service, May 31, 1969, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

³⁴⁵ Cathy Thomas, “Arrested Students Get Continuances.”

³⁴⁶ Topping, 332. Ultimately, none of the trespassing cases ever went to trial.

³⁴⁷ “Rebels Shift Sit-in at Purdue,” *Chicago Tribune*, From Tribune Wire Service, May 7, 1969.

governor called out the state police who arrived, this time, without riot gear. By 7:00 p.m., students left peacefully and went to the Union Building.³⁴⁸

At the Union Building, protesters were joined by others who chanted, “Strike, strike.” Three thousand students held an enthusiastic rally at the Memorial Union reflection pool and then wound “through residence hall courtyards and down State Street,” picking up additional student supporters as they went. One of the movement’s leaders, Peace Union member George Stavis, threatened to shut down the university. Was Hovde’s reaction to the Union live-in because “we spoiled his alumni week?”³⁴⁹

Despite the unrest, Centennial Week activities continued, and several speakers showed support for student demands. Keynote speaker, Dr. Robert Finch, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, discussed the recent arrest of the 229 Purdue students in his speech about the university’s future. Was the land grant idea, the concept of “democracy’s college,” an idea fulfilled or searching for renewal and perpetual, ongoing evolution? Tension on campus was a “healthy burden and a mark of vigorous growth.” Finch, quoting mathematician-philosopher Alfred North Whitehead, reminded the audience that the university “must mate itself with action.”³⁵⁰ Ironically, as Finch spoke, students marched from their rally on the mall to the Executive Building and Governor Whitcomb ordered unarmed state policemen to be on hand.

³⁴⁸ Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Volume II, Section 9, 9zzz, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

³⁴⁹ Kathie Barnes, “March on Administration Building,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 7 1969.

³⁵⁰ Purdue University Library Newsreels, <http://www4.lib.purdue.edu/spcol/newsreels/1969.html> (accessed February 3, 2016).

After Secretary Finch's speech, President Hovde took the podium. As he approached the stage, "approximately 1,000 students stood and raised clenched fists in a gesture of student power" to protest recent events and walked quietly from the music hall.³⁵¹ Later, Democratic Senator Birch Bayh, a Purdue alumnus, spoke to the crowd and drew a standing ovation when he blamed the government and its refusal to allocate necessary funds for many of the universities' problems.³⁵²

The arrests of the 229 continued to gain much attention on campus. The Student Senate was quick to react, issuing and passing three resolutions on May 7. Resolution, 8-47 condemned President Hovde's actions on the morning of May 6. The resolution recommended that alternatives to arrest should have been considered and that, in the future, the Student Senate be consulted before such consequences were put in place.³⁵³ Resolution 8-48, introduced a procedure to be followed for suspension and expulsion. The Dean's office should have complete autonomy in determining penalties, "from nothing to expulsion." Students should be allowed to complete all course work until the appeal was decided, and no record would be kept of a student totally vindicated.³⁵⁴ Finally, Resolution 8-49, condemning the actions of the administration on the morning of May 6,

³⁵¹ Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Volume II, Section 9, 9yyy, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

³⁵² Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Volume II, Section 9, 9zzzzz, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

³⁵³ Senate Resolution 8-47, May 7, 1969, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

³⁵⁴ Senate Resolution 8-48, May 7, 1969, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections. .

recommended that no punitive actions be taken against those students taken into custody.³⁵⁵

The *Exponent* ran an editorial urging the president's office to consider asking the court to show leniency for the students.³⁵⁶ The Educational Policy Committee of the School of Humanities, Social Science, and Education advised the university to "drop all charges of trespass" against students and faculty arrested at the Memorial Union on May 6, 1969 and recommended that a joint faculty-student committee be convened in the event of future crises. The Mathematics Department issued a similar statement.³⁵⁷ Purdue faculty had supported students in the past, participating in the October 16, 1968 protest against war-related recruiters. They supported the Memorial Union boycott. As at many other universities, students could count on some faculty to stand with them against administration or government authority.

Finally, on May 31, the administration issued its decision on the disciplinary proceedings for the May 6 arrestees. Following the procedures outlined in Section Two of the Student Code, the university allowed all arrested students the opportunity to appeal for readmission for the 1969-70 school year.³⁵⁸ The university had done its homework. Each student could appear before the Campus Appeals Committee consisting of four students, three faculty members, and two appointees of the president of the university. The university had the responsibility

³⁵⁵ Senate Resolution 8-49, May 7, 1969, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

³⁵⁶ "Student Amnesty?" Editorial, *The Purdue Exponent*, May 9, 1969.

³⁵⁷ "Faculty Resolutions," Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Volume I, Section 9, 9ffffff, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

³⁵⁸ Board of Trustees, Minutes, June 7-8, 1968, 3, 4.

to discipline students and was acting in accordance with the Student Bill of Rights along with the Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students adopted by National Student Association, the American Association of University Professors, the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, and the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors.³⁵⁹ Ultimately, the administration placed all readmitted students on university probation, during which time they could resume all activities except run for campus office.³⁶⁰ In the end, the Lafayette City Court dismissed all charges against them as well. The students had not committed any serious crime, damaged property, or fought with police. Prosecutor David J. Crouse stated that the students were, in fact, “very cooperative with arresting officers.”³⁶¹

As Purdue Gala Week came to a close, students again focused attention on the state legislature. On May 8, more than 4,500 Indiana students marched in Indianapolis to call for a special session of the Indiana General Assembly, but Governor Whitcomb was reportedly not available.³⁶² Students representing Indiana University, Purdue University, Indiana State University, and Ball State moved from the Indianapolis I.U. regional campus to Capital Plaza towing a black coffin with the word “Education” embossed in red letters.³⁶³

³⁵⁹ Herbert L. Schaller, “Memorandum, to all students, faculty, and staff of Purdue University, May 31, 1969,” University News Service, May 31, 1969.

³⁶⁰ “3 Tickets Slated for Student Body Presidential Race,” *The Purdue Exponent*, March 26, 1970.

³⁶¹ Robert C. Kriebel, “220 ‘Lounge-In’ Cases Dropped,” *Lafayette Journal and Courier*, September 30, 1970; University News Service, “University News,” June 2, 1970. The Armory incident was another matter. The university invoked Code A 4.0 and charged students with disrupting university educational procedures and suspended 35 of the 40 students involved.

³⁶² “Indianapolis March,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 8, 1969.

³⁶³ Kiki Hinze, “4,500 March for Special Session,” May 8, 1969, *The Purdue Exponent*, May 8, 1969.

In Whitcomb's absence, Secretary of State William Salin spoke to the students, pledging one million dollars for "student summer employment" but offering no plans for a special legislative session. Black students from the I.U. and Purdue Black Student Union called for the state to address the problem of the disproportionately small number of black students attending universities and the white-centered university curriculums. Students were frustrated at the condescending attitude of the legislators who complimented students on their non-violence but gave little attention to their demands. Governor Whitcomb issued no statement.³⁶⁴ Senator Birch Bayh, on the other hand, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Exponent* commending the Purdue students for their "orderly and responsible concern."³⁶⁵

For the present, students and faculty wanted to help students bear the burden of increased tuition and looked for ways to raise money. The university issued a memorandum announcing the establishment of new grants and financial aids for 7,000 students.³⁶⁶ Graduating seniors pledged their rental fees for graduation caps and gowns to pay for tuition reimbursement.³⁶⁷ Eight professors established The Huckleberry Foundation, Incorporated to provide loans, scholarships, community education and research, and campus lectures.³⁶⁸ In the end, it is difficult to discern how much the tuition increase impacted student enrollment. New

³⁶⁴ "Indianapolis March." This campus is now Indiana University - Purdue University, Indianapolis.

³⁶⁵ Senator Birch Bayh, "Responsible Concern," Barbara Cook, Student Unrest Purdue, Volume II., 9RRRRRRR, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

³⁶⁶ Monday Memo, Volume 2, No. 30, May 12, 1969, Barbara Cook, Student Unrest, Volume II, 9XXXXXXX, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

³⁶⁷ Leslie A. Field, "Graduation in a suit for scholarships," Letter to the Editor, *The Purdue Exponent*, May 16, 1969.

³⁶⁸ Darrel Abel, et. al., "The Huckleberry Foundation, Inc.," Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

enrollment spiked slightly in 1970 to 5,213. Beginning students in 1971 remained fairly stable when compared to previous two years. New students enrolled in 1969 totaled 5,081 and 4,958 in 1971. These numbers indicate that other factors, such as military conscription, may have outweighed the negative impact of the tuition increase.³⁶⁹

While students were devoting much attention to the state budget and fee increases, as the 1968-1969 school year came to a close, concern about the Vietnam War gained ascendancy. Students protested Purdue's involvement in war research "used to destroy people in the developing world." Even President Hovde was implicated for his past service as Chief of the Rocket Ordnance Division of the National Defense Resources Command and membership on the board of General Electric, a defense contractor. A campus flyer entitled "War Crimes" challenged Purdue professors to "abandon military-supported" research, and called upon the university to "serve the people so that earth may be habitable."³⁷⁰

Nineteen-sixty-nine brought arrest and more student-administration discord than had the previous year. The 1969-1970 school year would bring many of these issues to the forefront as dramatic changes in foreign policy and student unrest at home took on ominous tones.

³⁶⁹ Stephen Lipps, Director, Enrollment Management Analysis and Reporting, Purdue University, (Email, May 23, 2017). slipps@purdue.edu.

³⁷⁰ Unattributed Flyer, "War Crimes at Purdue," May 9, 1969, William Buffington Papers, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

Chapter 4: The ROTC and the Military Industrial Complex

The most spectacular and important creation of the authoritarian and oligopolistic structure of economic decision-making in America is the institution called "the military industrial complex" by former President Eisenhower, the powerful congruence of interest and structure among military and business elites which affects so much of our development and destiny. Not only is ours the first generation to live with the possibility of world-wide cataclysm -- it is the first to experience the actual social preparation for cataclysm, the general militarization of American society.

-Tom Hayden, The Port Huron Statement

1968 and 1969 were watershed years at Purdue when students fought for First Amendment freedoms and defied the status quo. Black culture and civil rights became salient issues as students addressed the special challenges of African Americans both on and off campus. Student activists challenged the Indiana state budget and state college tuition increases. But as the school year came to a close in 1970, focus shifted to Nixon's incursion into Cambodia and the shootings at Kent State University.

In January, 1969, President Richard Nixon took office after one of the most closely contested of American elections. A sign of the turbulent times, neither major-party candidate received over 50 percent of the popular vote, split, in part, due to the candidacy of the third-party candidate, George Wallace. Republican Richard Nixon won over Democrat Hubert Humphrey by less than 500,000

popular votes and promised to unite the country and end the war in Vietnam by “peace through honor.”³⁷¹

In April 1969, Americans learned that troop levels had reached 543,000 and that 33,641 Americans had lost their lives, surpassing the number of Americans killed during the entire Korean War.³⁷² Widespread dissent was growing, and by October 15, 1969, David Hawk and Sam Brown, former members of Eugene McCarthy’s presidential campaign, organized a national moratorium to express widespread disapproval of the war. Millions participated throughout the country, and rebellion spread beyond college campuses to large cities. In November, an antiwar rally of 750,000 took place at the Washington Monument, and, on that same day, 250,000 demonstrated in San Francisco. Meanwhile, university students throughout the nation voiced more and more mistrust of the government and President Nixon.³⁷³

On April 20, 1970, five months after the Washington and San Francisco rallies, Nixon fulfilled his campaign promises to scale back the war: He pledged that, by the end of 1971, he would withdraw 150,000 American troops. American jubilation was short-lived, though, when just ten days later, on April 30, he disclosed an earlier and unpublished March incursion into Cambodia. It was an initiative designed to cut off Communist hiding places along the North Vietnam-

³⁷¹ History Channel, This Day in History, “November 5, 1968: Richard Nixon Elected President” <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/richard-nixon-elected-president> (accessed April, 2014).

³⁷² History Place, “The Vietnam War: Countdown to the End, 1969 – 1975” <http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/vietnam/index-1969.html> (accessed June 14, 2015).

³⁷³ Spencer C. Tucker, *Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War: A Political, Social, and Military History* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1998), 278.

Cambodia border.³⁷⁴ Many Americans were shocked and disillusioned by this unforeseen action, and widespread protest broke out on campuses around the nation. On May 1, Nixon publicly referred to protesters as “bums blowing up campuses,” further incensing and alienating students.³⁷⁵ By May 4, almost 100 campuses had responded to Nixon’s actions in Cambodia by going on strike or threatening to do so.³⁷⁶

On May 1, at a small, liberal arts school in Ohio called Kent State University, violence broke out, property was damaged, and the mayor called for the National Guard. On May 2, following a large anti-war rally, the ROTC building was burned, and the Ohio National Guard used tear-gas to subdue students who were protesting on the Commons. Two days later, on May 4, when some 2,000 students ignored orders to disperse, Guardsmen fired into the crowd. Soldiers shot sixty-one rounds, killing four students and injuring nine others.³⁷⁷ Many Americans responded with disbelief and horror at the news. Then, ten days later on May 14, after two nights of campus riots at Jackson State University in Mississippi, police and state highway patrolmen fired 300 shots into a dormitory, wounding twelve and killing two coeds as they watched events from their window.³⁷⁸ The Jackson State shootings garnered little attention when compared

³⁷⁴ Tucker, 307.

³⁷⁵ History Place.

³⁷⁶ Tucker, 203.

³⁷⁷ Tucker, 203. Allison Krause and Jeff Miller had been active participants in the rally. The other two, Sandra Scheuer, and William Schroeder were on the way to class when they were killed.; “New light shed on Kent State killings,” *The Washington Times*, May 4, 2010. On the fortieth anniversary of the Kent State shootings, the conservative *Washington Times* reported that “previously unreported” evidence exists to show that the campus unrest and the torching of the ROTC building was the result of orchestrated activity planned by outside agitators and that a sniper might have been shooting on Guardsmen.

³⁷⁸ Anderson, 178.

to those at Kent State, indicating not only the temper of the times but the nation's reluctance to regard the killing of blacks with as much seriousness as the killing of whites.³⁷⁹ By now, the United States was fighting two wars, and the war against campus protest escalated. "Peace with honor" seemed a distant promise.³⁸⁰

In 1969, many Purdue students had turned much of their attention to America's ongoing war in Southeast Asia. Students voiced concern about Purdue's million dollar military contracts with the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, and NASA for "weapons systems components, bacteriological warfare, and nuclear warfare." Some students called upon professors to discontinue "military-supported research."³⁸¹

One shared point of contention at Purdue and across the nation was the ROTC program. In 1934, the Supreme Court had given Land Grant universities wide latitude in establishing the ROTC curriculum, stating in *Hamilton v. University of California* that schools were "entirely free to determine. . . . the branches of military training to be provided, the content of the instruction and the objectives to be attained."³⁸² In 1964, a small group of Purdue students and staff initiated the campus Peace Union, which sought to abolish the campus compulsory Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) training. One year later, the federal law abolished mandatory training, and Purdue administrators emphasized that they

³⁷⁹ Anderson, 193.

³⁸⁰ Buzzanco, 170.

³⁸¹ "War Crimes at Purdue," William Buffington Papers, May 9, 1969, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

³⁸² Appendix to University Senate Report 69-18, May 18, 1970, Educational Policy Committee, p. 56-57, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

had changed the requirements due to the federal law and not because of student activism.³⁸³

Nonetheless, during the Vietnam War, many ROTC programs became the target of student unrest all across the nation. Opponents claimed that its existence on campus violated the principle of “educational integrity.”³⁸⁴ A “National Editorial” supported by 29 university newspapers decried the autonomy of the ROTC programs that, in practice, gave the university little control over its faculty or the content of the curriculum.³⁸⁵ Harvard, Dartmouth, and Columbia terminated their programs and Yale and Stanford discontinued academic credit for ROTC courses. Most state universities, however, advocated the retention of ROTC. Indiana University polls, for example, indicated that 68.9% of students “did not favor the banning of ROTC or military science courses.”³⁸⁶

The *Exponent* ran an editorial on February 12 calling the ROTC “an island of indoctrination in a sea of academic freedom.”³⁸⁷ The editorial went on to advocate that Purdue withdraw academic credit for ROTC courses and consider such courses to be extra-curricular.³⁸⁸ That same month, the *Exponent* polled student and officer opinions about the ROTC. Major Roy S. Woods, instructor in the ROTC program, defended the program saying, “We need the best educated people for our service.” Captain I.H. Kudson, officer in the Navy ROTC

³⁸³ Topping, 328.

³⁸⁴ David Bruck, “A History of the ROTC: On to Recruitment,” *The Harvard Crimson*, March 14, 1968.

³⁸⁵ “National Editorial: ROTC: Alien to the University,” *The Purdue Exponent*, April 15, 1969.

³⁸⁶ Reuben A. Holden, et. al., “Comments of the Advisory Panel on ROTC Affairs,” 65, Purdue University Library Archives, n.d.

³⁸⁷ “Island of Indoctrination,” Editorial, *The Purdue Exponent*, February 12, 1969. The *Exponent* quoted psychology professor Dr. Bertram Garskof of Michigan State University who used the phrase, “island of indoctrination in a sea of academic freedom.”

³⁸⁸ “Island of Indoctrination.”

program, concurred, stating that the military needs people with a “rounded background.” The university was the “natural place” to find those kinds of people. Jack Dubnicek, a former Air Force ROTC cadet, believed that the program should be accredited and that it was of benefit to students, most of whom would face military service. Several students complained that the experiences in the ROTC did not bear a resemblance to the real world. Marching on campus was “nothing like what boot camp will be.”³⁸⁹

Purdue set up both faculty and student subcommittees to study “the role” of the ROTC. The student subcommittee held two open meetings in September and October of 1969 where students debated issues and organized a referendum. The faculty subcommittee examined the legal requirements of a land grant institution and concluded that “ROTC units are the commonest way by which land-grant institutions fulfill their [sic] legal obligation.”³⁹⁰

In November, 1969, the Student Senate Committee on Academic Affairs reported that a recent poll showed, by a vote of 2556 to 531, that students supported the continuation of ROTC at Purdue. ROTC was an effective means of tempering the military “with civilian ideals.” The committee recommended that ROTC midshipmen and cadets elect one student from each service to serve on the Purdue Military Affairs Committee. But some changes were called for. The demerit system should not have any bearing on a student’s academic grades. Universities should receive compensation for ROTC costs. Finally, the ROTC program should examine the broader and “many-sided picture of national policy”

³⁸⁹ “Pros and Cons of Accreditation,” *The Purdue Exponent*, February 24, 1969.

³⁹⁰ University Senate Report 69-18, Educational Policy Committee, May 18, 1970, 56-57, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

by devoting drill time for student leaders from a wide variety of backgrounds to present their opinions on national issues.³⁹¹ The vote to retain the campus ROTC shows the strong conservative bent that remained at the school, while the administration's concessions to some of the protest demands confirmed its openness to change. There was a limit to its tolerance, however, as the administration would demonstrate on May 1, 1970.

In the meantime, Purdue administration responded by confirming that all student enrollment in the ROTC would remain strictly voluntary. A high-level Purdue faculty-administrative committee would oversee the program, its staff, and curricular programs and content. The three military departments would be designated academic departments but separate from the other schools in the university. Purdue would encourage greater interaction between the "curricula of the military departments and the general aims and methods of the educational programs of the University."³⁹² Despite the liberalization of the rules, some members of the Faculty Senate continued to take issue with the program and believed courses should be "held to a minimum" and be offered only on a "non-credit basis."³⁹³

The ROTC remained a focus of antiwar protests on the Purdue campus, however, and news of the Cambodian invasion heightened attention to the program. On May 1, 1970, 300 students gathered for a rally on the Mall protesting America's latest actions. During the student presentations, the crowd

³⁹¹ Judy Horak, "Study by Senate Committee concludes ROTC should remain on campus," *The Purdue Exponent*, November 13, 1969.

³⁹² University Senate Report 69-18.

³⁹³ "University News," University News Service, May 20, 1970.

grew to 600. Stan Jones, student body president, urged students to take part in the three-day national strike. Before long, the crowd headed to the university Executive Offices to deliver its demands to President Hovde. First, students asked for an end to the ROTC program at Purdue. Second, they wanted Purdue to discontinue all classified war research. Lastly, they asked that the university publicly issue a statement calling for an end to America's involvement in Southeast Asia. John Hicks, acting for President Hovde, refused all three demands, whereupon the students changed course and headed toward the Armory where the President's annual review of the ROTC units was taking place.³⁹⁴ The crowd walked toward the Armory, linking arms and "shouting an obscene antiwar cheer."³⁹⁵ The marchers entered the hall where officials told them to leave or risk arrest. All protesters complied except one former Purdue student, twenty-six-year-old John McKown, who was watching the review with his young son. McKown was arrested for trespassing.

When word of McKown's arrest reached the crowd, marchers changed course and walked back toward the Armory, entered the building and, sitting in the middle of the floor, refused to leave. Police on site allegedly "poked" and "jabbed" students with riot clubs. SDS leader Bob Rose reported an injury at the hands of the police and later sought treatment at the university health center. Two students later sued the university beating them "without provocation."³⁹⁶ The

³⁹⁴ Mark Banner, "Students clubbed during sit-in at ROTC convo," *The Purdue Exponent*, May 4, 1970.

³⁹⁵ Topping, 332.

³⁹⁶ Banner, "Students clubbed during sit-in at ROTC convo."

university suspended all 30 students identified as “having participated” in the incident until January, 1971.³⁹⁷

Purdue administrators hastily formed a “panel of inquiry” consisting of four professors and a graduate student to look into the matter, drawing its authority from the University Code A 4.00, which stated that “the Faculty shall have the general power and responsibility to adopt policies, regulations and procedures intended to achieve the educational objectives of Purdue University and the general welfare of those involved in these educational procedures.”³⁹⁸ To protest the actions of the administration, seventy-five Purdue faculty members drew up a petition in support of the demonstrators. The petition stated in part, that “students and faculty members refuse to acknowledge as legitimate the threatened expulsion or suspension of students involved in ‘disruption’ of ROTC exercises in the Purdue Armory on May 1.” The petition went on to demand that all students involved receive grades for the spring semester and be allowed to attend classes.³⁹⁹ The university was determined to show no tolerance for this type of protest. Each student appeared before a commission composed of one student, faculty member, and administrator. On June 2, the Appeals Board finalized its findings, confirming the suspension of 35 of the 40 students associated with the

³⁹⁷ “University News,” University News Service, May 20, 1970. Numbers implicated increased to 40. Thirty-five of those students received suspension until January, 1971.

³⁹⁸ *Post Script* to Monday Memo, May 25, 1970, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections. Those named to the panel represented a wide variety of schools. The Senate named Ruth L. Godfrey, home economics, Joseph Kuc, biochemistry, Jack J. Stockton, veterinary medicine, and Gerald L. Zachariah, agricultural engineering, along with Johnette Dockins, a graduate student in education; University News,” University Senate Advisory Council, University Senate Document 69-49, “Establishment of a Panel of Inquiry to Hear and Determine the Events preceding and the Disturbance in the Armory of 1 May 1970,” Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

³⁹⁹ “Mall Rallies Merge As Kent Stater Speaks,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 9, 1970

disturbance.⁴⁰⁰ Purdue administrators would meet calls for change on their own terms, holding fast to the Purdue ideals on which the school had been built.

At the same time, news of the May 4 shootings at Kent State resonated at Purdue and throughout the nation diverting attention, momentarily, from the Armory incident. On May 8, the Senate Advisory Council issued University Senate Report 69-22. The unanimously-adopted proposal stated that the university would set aside a time for in-depth campus discussion due to the “tragic and deplorable” events on the nation’s campuses. Further, the council asked that the faculty be flexible in allowing students to make up any work missed if gatherings interfered with scheduled classes.⁴⁰¹ The Educational Policy Committee of the School of Humanities, Social Science, and Education (HSSE) issued a statement in support of students who had chosen to strike against classes at Purdue on May 4, 5, and 6 to protest the invasion of Cambodia and that professors give students the opportunity to make up work.⁴⁰²

Some Purdue students wanted their voices to be heard beyond the confines of the university; therefore, on Saturday, May 9, “an undisclosed” number of Purdue students made plans to attend the nationwide anti-war protest in Washington, D.C.⁴⁰³ And on that same date, a remarkable convergence of campus activism

⁴⁰⁰ University News Service, “University News,” June 2, 1970; Topping, 333.

⁴⁰¹ University Senate Report, 69-22, Resolution by the Senate Advisory Council, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

⁴⁰² Recommendation of Educational Policy Committee of the School of Humanities, Social Science, and Education. William Buffington Collection, Purdue Library Archives and Special Collections.

⁴⁰³ ABC News, “May 9, 1970: Nationwide Student Strike,” <http://abcnews.go.com/Archives/video/student-strike-1970-vietnam-cambodia-kent-state-10075782> (accessed November, 2015). The Day of Dissent took place on the Ellipse, south of the White House. A crowd of 75,000 people converged and heard speeches from, among others, anti-war activist, Dr. Benjamin Spock. President Nixon met with a small number of students at the

took place at Purdue in three rallies, one to support the campus ROTC, another to observe Black Solidarity Day, and the third to mourn the four killed at Kent State.⁴⁰⁴

The pro-ROTC rally participants encouraged students to vote in the upcoming May 11 referendum on the retention of ROTC.⁴⁰⁵ Many spoke in defense of the long-standing tradition at Purdue. ROTC opponents advanced the argument that, even if the group were to remain on campus, it should not be there “during wartime.”⁴⁰⁶ The *Exponent* had been a staunch and long-standing opponent of the organization, alleging that the courses were “academically inferior” to other Purdue coursework, “foreign to the pragmatic, questioning nature of scholarly inquest.” Further, the paper alleged that the program took away the autonomy of the school. Courses were reviewed by a national review committee and educators were subject to outside hiring criteria. Letters to the editor, however, revealed a lively debate of both sides of the argument.⁴⁰⁷

The Black Student Union organized the Black Solidarity Rally, hoping to bring communication between Purdue students and the black community of Lafayette while stimulating an interest in the political status of the “black man in America.”⁴⁰⁸ Appearing at the rally were Mark McCarty, a Black Panther member from Gary, Indiana, graduate students, the head black student counselor, and a black music group. Approximately 150 students attended the event where

Lincoln Memorial. I have been unable to find information about how many Purdue students actually attended the Washington demonstration.

⁴⁰⁴ “Mall Rallies Merge As Kent Stater Speaks” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 9, 1970.

⁴⁰⁵ Tom Walsh, “Student Senate plans Cambodian referendum,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 11, 1970.

⁴⁰⁶ “Mall Rallies Merge As Kent Stater Speaks.”

⁴⁰⁷ “ROTC” Removal, *The Purdue Exponent*, November 4, 1969.

⁴⁰⁸ “Mall Rallies Merge As Kent Stater Speaks.”

McCarty told the crowd about the nationwide persecution of the Black Panther movement and the imprisonment of party chairman Bobby Seale.⁴⁰⁹

Later that afternoon, the pro-ROTC rally converged with the Black Solidarity rally to hear the presentation of Kent State history teaching assistant, Jackie Stewart. Stewart related her account of the events of May 4, stating that when she was ten feet from guardsmen, “for no reason at all...they turned and fired into the crowd.” Placing blame for the event on Ohio Governor James A. Rhodes, President Nixon, and Vice President Agnew, Stewart chronologically related the events of May 4.⁴¹⁰ She also solicited financial help for the 200 Kent State students who remained in jail. Stewart described how Kent State students and faculty remained steadfast by striking for the banishment of firearms from campus and the elimination of ROTC.⁴¹¹

Students continued to organize and encourage activism on campus. On May 8, a group of 400 students met to discuss an economic boycott of area businesses that supported the war, and some left the meeting to withdraw their savings from Lafayette banks. Six West Lafayette businesses agreed to display posters indicating disapproval of Nixon’s actions.⁴¹²

Students worked on a Student Legal Aid and Services program to assist students with a variety of problems including landlord-tenant relations, university disciplinary problems, problems with police, and issues concerning contracts and

⁴⁰⁹ Kiki Hinze, “Black Panther speaks to Solidarity Day rally,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 11, 1979 1.

⁴¹⁰ Judy Horak, “Hicks, Mallet speak tonight, ROTC, peace rallies held Friday,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 11, 1970.

⁴¹¹ “Mall Rallies Merge As Kent Stater Speaks” *The Exponent*, May 9, 1970.

⁴¹² Tom Walsh, “Kent TA’s appearance announced at rally,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 8, 1970.

consumer fraud and organized a referendum to demonstrate student backing for the program.⁴¹³ The *Exponent* urged support for an idea that would protect student political views and activism.⁴¹⁴ Although the university administration and council never came to an agreement on whether to proceed, it allowed a 1971 pilot program that was “reasonably successful.” Later, the Tippecanoe County public defender program and Legal Aid Corporation realized some of the earlier goals of the students.⁴¹⁵

On May 12, the administration hosted a university-wide forum to discuss America’s foreign policy and Purdue’s response. The dialogue represented the diversity of political opinions on campus, and the *Exponent* reported the gathering to be, for the most part, “orderly and well-paced.”⁴¹⁶ Presidential Executive Assistant Hicks said that, although he could not speak for the entire university, he favored Nixon’s move into Cambodia. A Young Americans for Freedom⁴¹⁷ representative strongly supported the continuation of the campus ROTC and the right of professors to engage in any type of research they chose. SDS leader Bob Rose favored a neutral university and criticized Dean Mallet’s work with military reserve groups that rendered him “far from neutral.” Rose then challenged the

⁴¹³ Paul Fi Duccia, “Student Legal Aid and Services Program,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 8, 1970; Paul Fi Duccia, “Legal Services Referendum to be Held,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 12, 1970

⁴¹⁴ “Mark ‘Yes’ for Student Legal Aid Program,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 13, 1970.

⁴¹⁵ Purdue University Board of Trustees, “Minutes,” November 3-4, 1970.

⁴¹⁶ Larry Schumpert, “For the Most Part, Forum Orderly and Well-Paced,” *The Purdue Exponent*, May 12, 1970.

⁴¹⁷ “Young America’s Foundation – The Conservative Movement Starts.” Young America’s Foundation <http://www.yaf.org/defaultpb.aspx> (accessed June 25, 2015). Young Americans for Freedom was a conservative organization founded on May 11, 1960 by William F. Buckley. Its guiding principles are stated in the Sharon Statement which stated, “. . . That we will be free only so long as the national sovereignty of the United States is secure; that history shows periods of freedom are rare and can exist only when free citizens concertedly defend their rights against all enemies. . . .,” particularly the Communists.

University to broaden its research topics, finding cures for cancer as well as developing munitions. Father Leo Piguet of St. Thomas Aquinas Center in West Lafayette, urged students to use their considerable power to “prick the conscience of other people,” warning that “a stupid war overseas” will cause “stupid war at home.” Finally, student body president, Stan Jones, drew a standing ovation when he called on students to become activists, “foot-soldiers” in joining the second American revolution that began at Kent State: Purdue “must accept a moral responsibility to work against war.”⁴¹⁸ Purdue University had weathered a tumultuous year, and students looked forward to summer break.

On November 16 of the 1970-1971 school year, the University Senate issued a follow-up to the Board of Inquiry’s report on the May 1 disturbance in the Purdue Armory. Professor C.E. Eisinger, Chairman of the Faculty Affairs Committee, questioned the results of the panel’s inquiry, particularly with regard to the police use of batons. Batons were to be used only to prod or move demonstrators. On at least four occasions, two police had “raised batons over their heads and struck at demonstrators in contact with the police.” Professor J.J. Stocktown, chairman of the panel of inquiry, reported that the university police in question had faced “disciplinary action,” and that the police force would use films of the Armory incident for training of university police.⁴¹⁹ The school year ended with many unresolved questions but with a strong, organized student presence that tracked local and national issues and challenged authority.

⁴¹⁸ Larry Schumpert, “For the Most Part, Forum Orderly and Well-Paced.”

⁴¹⁹ University News Service, “University News,” March 12, 1970.

Conclusion:
The Legacy of Purdue Activism, 1968 – 1970

The bridge to political power, though, will be built through genuine cooperation, locally, nationally, and internationally, between a new left of young people, and an awakening community of allies. In each community we must look within the university and act with confidence that we can be powerful, but we must look outwards to the less exotic but more lasting struggles for justice.

-Tom Hayden, The Port Huron Statement

In May, 1970, the Purdue school year came to an end. Purdue student activism did not begin in 1968 nor did it end in 1970. But its development during those years demonstrates the evolution of the movement, the methods and goals of the activists, and some of the results. Much of Purdue activism exemplifies the concerns of the New Left movement and epitomizes its grass-roots origins and furthers discussion of the movement.

This thesis shows how the conservative enclave of Purdue University affords a microcosm in which to study the evolution of the worldwide New Left movement. Students fought for a reformed student code and Bill of Rights, a voting position on the Board of Trustees, and recognition and membership on the Lafayette Human Relations Commission. They expanded their voices to fight proposed tuition increases and publicized the anticipated effect on draft-eligible young men. Attention turned to American foreign policy as students protested war-related campus interviewers, the university ROTC program, and escalation of the Vietnam War.

This research shows the New Left Movement to be an idealistic crusade to bring morality, equality, and fairness to society. *Bauls* describes a movement as motivated to create a “just and humane” social order, seeking to extinguish racism, unjust “barbaric wars,” and poverty and extreme deprivation. Activists searched for justice, whether pushing for representation on decision-making boards, equal housing, fair treatment of students, or open and honest university communication. They blamed education, media, and government for perpetuating a blind deference to authority to the detriment of real, progressive change.⁴²⁰ Youth and intellectuals set themselves apart from political parties as they fought for civil and legal fairness.⁴²¹

This thesis shows the efficacy of the movement. Purdue administrators responded by showing an increasing willingness to involve students in policy deliberations. Faculty members supported student efforts to restrict recruiters on campus and protest tuition increases. School administrators made concessions to free speech and student leadership.⁴²² Change did not come immediately, completely, or easily, but the administration gradually realized that student input gave credibility to the school and resulted in tangible results. The university set limits with the Armory demonstrations, however, invoking Code A 4.0 and charging students with disrupting university educational procedures and suspending 35 of the 40 students involved.⁴²³

⁴²⁰ *Bauls*, Vol. I, No 5, May 1 – May 14, 1969, William Buffington Collection on Student Unrest, Purdue University Library Archives and Special Collections.

⁴²¹ Haris, 91.

⁴²² Kiki Hinze, “Trustees Grant Speaking Seat,” *The Purdue Exponent*, April 25, 1969. Students still showed disappointment at not getting a voting seat, but celebrated the reform nonetheless.

⁴²³ University News Service, “University News,” June 2, 1970.

Black student activists at Purdue gave significant meaning to the New Left struggle and set an important example as they fought for recognition, equity, and representation in faculty and curriculum. They comprised all the elements of the New Left movement, a moral, non-establishment focus and a non-violent strategy. Although at first the university dealt with black demands with a mixture of indecision and awkward missteps, by spring of 1969, the school began to show change and openness to the acceptance of cultural differences. The BSU and the BCC made positive inroads in the Purdue culture, empowering black students and celebrating a spirit of diversity on campus.

This study at Purdue demonstrates the diversity of the people in the movement. Student leaders and participants came from as divergent backgrounds as student government leaders and the Peace Union activists. Research shows how local issues brought unity to the cause. A Union boycott attracted a large population that protested tuition increases. Issues broadened from local to national, giving the movement a base from which to operate.

On June 30, 1971, the man who led the university through some of the most turbulent years, Frederick Hovde, retired from Purdue. Hovde had set a positive example by increasingly engaging students in decision-making and striving for a spirit of transparency in university decisions. Although Hovde was the focus of much student protest and dissatisfaction, he and his staff made progress in effecting reform, forging a working relationship with students, and averting the violence seen on other campuses.⁴²⁴

⁴²⁴ Topping, 347.

New president Arthur Hansen had to earn student trust when he became the eighth president of Purdue on June 12, 1970. The fee controversy still loomed large, and raising funds was a top priority. Hanson publicly enlisted the help of faculty, students, and alumni in making positive change at Purdue, emphasizing that tuition increases at Purdue would not continue.⁴²⁵

To address some of the financial concerns, the new university president established an organization to solicit funds from the private sector, selecting Purdue alumnus Stanley E. Hall as director. In addition, Hanson developed *Perspective*, a bimonthly newsletter for staff, students, and alumni and established the Focus on Purdue program, bringing alumni and other significant guests for weekend visits and briefings on university progress. Hanson also established a permanent organization called the Purdue Council, a group of alumni and other supporters who donated \$1,000 per year and served as university advisors. Finally, he established the Council for Special Events, a student organization that actively promoted the university by soliciting funds through the “Phonathon” and sending students throughout the state to publicize the university.⁴²⁶

In 1972, approximately 700 black students enrolled at Purdue, but they expressed dissatisfaction about the conditions they faced. The Black Cultural Center had opened in December of 1970, but there was still much work to be done. On February 17, Hansen met with students in the Center where he expressed a sense of urgency to rid the campus of any racial discrimination. The university had hired several new black professors and actively sought to recruit

⁴²⁵ Topping, 349.

⁴²⁶ Topping, 350 – 353.

more minority faculty, but many students believed the unique needs of the black student were not met. Hanson unveiled a six-point program which included “learning seminars [to create understanding] of the university community as a pluralistic society.” He also sought input on how to provide necessary resources to address the problem of “academic deficiencies” of some students and to achieve fairness for minorities and women in all hiring practices. Further, Hanson established the Society of Black Engineers and founded the National Action Committee for Minorities in Engineering. During the 1974-75 school year, the School of Engineering realized a fourfold increase in the enrollment of black students.⁴²⁷ Also during this time, the student body crowned the first black homecoming queen.⁴²⁸

Hanson oversaw changes that affected other minorities on campus. He ensured that women’s intercollegiate athletics received the same funding as that of men, anticipating the 1972 federal law that mandated equal funding.⁴²⁹ During his presidency, Hanson approved the establishment of the Gay Liberation Front and the Communist Youth Brigade, declaring that, “if you destroy the right of free expression, . . . you have destroyed the university.” Hanson issued a plea to the entire university community to create a positive educational and academic atmosphere, stating “the time has come for all of us to redouble our efforts to improve the environment for all.”⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ Topping, 364.

⁴²⁸ Topping, 355-358.

⁴²⁹ “Requirements Under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972,” U.S. Department of Education, <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/interath.html> (accessed May 28, 2017).

⁴³⁰ Topping, 357.

The numbers of cultural centers existing on the Purdue campus today is an indication of its continuing commitment to diversity and the influence of the New Left. In 1999, under the aegis of President Steven Beering, the university built a new, \$3 million, “beautiful and culturally relevant” Black Cultural Center.⁴³¹ Today, campus centers include the Asian American and Asian Resource and Cultural Center, the Latino Cultural Center, the Lesbian Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Center, and the Native American Education and Cultural Center. The Diversity Resource Office “cultivates an environment of respect and inclusion” among all members of the university community. Under the direction of Provost and Vice President, Deb Dutta, the Office of Academic Affairs and Diversity strives for “broadened participation” of underrepresented minorities.⁴³²

In August 2015, the *Lafayette Journal and Courier* analyzed the decline in Purdue’s African American enrollment, reporting a 12% drop from its 2008 figure of 1,355 students. In 2015, African American students at Purdue, West Lafayette, numbered 1,183 or 3% of the undergraduate enrollment, Asians, 2,318 or 5.88%, and Hispanics, 1,626 or 4.13%.⁴³³ Comparative numbers at Indiana University, Bloomington, for the same time period show African American student enrollment to be 5,146 or 6.9% of total undergraduates, Asians, 2,501 or 3.6%, and Hispanics, 4,736 or 6.4%.⁴³⁴ Purdue plans to increase its efforts to attract a

⁴³¹ Boiler Nation: Black Cultural Center, <http://www.purdue.edu/boilernation> (accessed May 28, 2017).

⁴³² Purdue University, Division of Diversity and Inclusion, <http://www.purdue.edu/diversity-inclusion/resources/students.html> (accessed November 4, 2015).

⁴³³ Purdue Data Digest, Student Enrollment, <http://www.purdue.edu/datadigest> (accessed June 9, 2016).

⁴³⁴ University Institution Research and Reporting, IU Official Enrollment Report 2015-16, Vol. 25, No. 1,

diverse student body by devoting more “staff, mailings, fairs and high school visits” for recruitment of underrepresented minorities. For example, the “Explore Purdue” program brings minority students to tour the campus. Additionally, the Emerging Leaders Scholarship for underrepresented minorities awards \$10,000 a year for in-state undergraduates and \$15,000 for out-of-state students.⁴³⁵

Forty-seven years after Purdue activists supported Berkeley’s Free Speech Movement, in May, 2015, with help from the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE), Purdue University issued a statement ensuring that students and faculty have the right to “speak and express themselves freely.” As a result of its actions, Purdue earned the “green light rating,” the highest ranking for free speech from FIRE, becoming the 21st to earn such an award from a database of 400.⁴³⁶

In *Prairie Power*, Robbie Lieberman uses oral histories to arrive at her conclusions about the New Left in the Midwest. Lieberman determines that each participant was motivated by the tumultuous times, and, confronted by violations of student rights and the war, sought nonviolent means of making a difference. The responses of the university administrators became the variable that determined the outcome on the campus, and her overall assessment confirms a long-lasting change on the university, the community, and the individual.⁴³⁷ The

https://www.iu.edu/~uirt/doc/reports/standard/enroll/116/enrollment_summary_4158.pdf (accessed June 9, 2016).

⁴³⁵ Tava Flores, “Why is black enrollment down at Purdue?” *Lafayette Journal and Courier*, August 5, 2015.

⁴³⁶ “Purdue University Eliminates All of Its Speech Codes, Earns FIRE’s Highest Rating,” FIRE: Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, <https://www.thefire.org/purdue-university-eliminates-all-of-its-speech-codes-earns-fires-highest-rating>, (accessed November 4, 2015).

⁴³⁷ Lieberman.

Purdue New Left Movement brought about change. Nonviolent student protests brought transformation of school policy.

President Hovde announced his retirement on December 19, 1969, effective June 30, 1971. On February 10, at his last appearance before the joint session of the Senate Finance and the House Ways and Means committees, Hovde asked that higher education be fully funded, echoing voices of the New Left activists.

I know the many demands on the limited resources you have. And I appreciate the concerns of the taxpayers, for I am one myself, just as all of you are. But I would ask that despite these very great problems, you not undo the work that you and your predecessors have done in the past of helping to provide first-quality universities for young Hoosiers. To allow our universities to deteriorate would be tragic for our young people, and in the long, run for all our people.⁴³⁸

In 1962, the Port Huron Statement began with this proclamation: “We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.”⁴³⁹ The New Left emphasized Aristotle’s dictate of “moral choices, solidarity, personal commitment, and community.”⁴⁴⁰ Purdue students believed in change and their role as agents of positive reform. They assumed the moral mandate to bring consistency between ideals and realities.⁴⁴¹

Purdue students provided a model of a grass roots movement that debated “in loco parentis” and dorm hours and grew to a commanding voice that fought for civil rights, freedom of speech, and helped to end a war. The directive presented

⁴³⁸ Topping, 334-335.

⁴³⁹ Anderson, 59.

⁴⁴⁰ Natasha Kapoor, “Continuity,” in *The New Left: Legacy and Continuity*, ed. Dimitrios Roussopoulos, (Tonawanda, N.Y.: Black Rose Books), 161.

⁴⁴¹ Anderson, 59.

by the Port Huron Statement, to “look uncomfortably to the world,” clearly states the enduring legacy – and challenge – to the twenty-first century heirs of those activists who embraced New Left concerns and fought for change. Today, Frederick Hovde Hall houses the office of the president of the university, and administration offices, such as the Registrar’s and Bursar’s office. In January 2017, it was the site of a sit-in where students requested an audience of President Mitch Daniels to discuss race relations on campus.⁴⁴² The legacy of the New Left lives on at Purdue.

The *Exponent*’s final issue of the 1969-1970 school year reflected past successes and challenges still to be met. Articles about censorship, black students on campus, the peace process in Vietnam, student activism and administration response reflected student concerns. Purdue said goodbye to President Hovde, and the new president remained an unknown. Editorials by Skip Wollenberg and Larry Persily described Purdue and the nation as at a crossroads. Would the campus and government leaders respond to demonstrators or take a hardline stand? Would the President’s promised troop withdrawal in take place in July? They wondered about the future of freedom of the press and civil liberties. Meanwhile, a civil disorder ordinance, increasing the power of authorities to deal forcefully with demonstrators, was up for a vote in the West Lafayette City Council.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴² Megham Holden, “Purdue students continue sit-in at Hovde Hall,” *Lafayette Journal and Courier*, January 23, 2017. <http://www.jconline.com/story/news/college/2017/01/23/purdue-students-continue-sit--hovde-hall/96961144/> (accessed April 10, 2017).

⁴⁴³ Skip Wollenberg and Larry Persily, “Editorial,” *The Exponent*, May 22, 1970.

The new black cultural center opened its doors in the fall of 1970. Purdue offered doctoral fellowships for nine graduate students. Four new black professors joined the Purdue humanities department that year. Purdue expected to admit 175 to 200 black students in the fall, considerably greater than the 67 freshmen admitted in 1967. Purdue hired a black student programs coordinator and black student advisor.⁴⁴⁴ Images of the year in review showed new buildings alongside student demonstrators and police in riot gear.

Unanswered questions remain about the New Left at Purdue. I limited this thesis to the evolution and make-up of the Purdue New Left and its effectiveness in bringing about nonviolent change from 1968 through the spring of 1970. Some of my research was hindered by the lack of data maintained by universities at the time. For example, I was unable to document numbers of minority students in fraternities or students receiving financial aid. I was unable to document exact numbers of women participants, although women such as Pam King, Deborah Cabbell, and Linda LaRue indicate their substantive role in the movement. In her *Dissent in the Heartland*, Mary Ann Wynkoop devoted two chapters to the role of the women's movement and the counterculture at IU.⁴⁴⁵ These are important topics that are beyond the scope of my study of Purdue.

Purdue activism is a microcosm of the evolution of the New Left. Its administration responded positively to many demands, and students gained more voice in decision-making. This thesis studies a non-violent, moralistic movement that widened its concerns from local issues to broader, national concerns. It

⁴⁴⁴ Kiki Hinze, "Decisions: Blacks on a white campus": Where do they go?" *The Purdue Exponent*, May 22, 1970.

⁴⁴⁵ Mary Ann Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.

demonstrates how dialogue and cooperation between the students and administration resulted in positive change at Purdue, substantiating Robbie Lieberman's claim that the responses of university administrators became the variable that determined a nonviolent outcome.⁴⁴⁶ I undertook this study to demonstrate how Purdue was unique as a conservative school that supported significant student protest during the 1960s and 1970s. I found, however, that Purdue students followed the pattern of many other Midwestern schools with similar demographics.⁴⁴⁷ This thesis substantiates research about those other schools, facilitating a richer and more accurate description and understanding of the New Left.

⁴⁴⁶ Lieberman, *Prairie Power*.

⁴⁴⁷ There are, however, notable exceptions that include the University of Wisconsin and Miami of Ohio.

Appendix:
Purdue University Timeline of Student Unrest
1968 – 1970

April 24, 1968 – At its first meeting at Purdue, The Negro History Study Group, (NHSG), examines the unique problems of black students.

May 15, 1968 – The NHSG changes its name to the Black Student Action Committee.

May 15, 1968 – Black Student Action Committee members walk to the administration office, place red bricks on the steps, and present a nine-point petition to the Dean of Men and Dean of Women. President Hovde promises immediate action.

September 17, 1968 - *Exponent* editor Bill Smoot presents a controversial speech at Green Guard Ice Cream Social for incoming women freshmen.

September, 22, 1968 - Twelve hundred students attend the Peace Union's "Counter-Orientation" program at Slayter Center where Bill Smoot and Professors Gass, Targ, and Weinstein challenge students to work for change and to become individuals.

October 2, 1968 - Four hundred students attend the Peace Union rally at Purdue Mall where members Clark Shimatsu, Mike Brand, and Professor John Sloan speak.

October 16, 1968 – One hundred students and faculty occupy the university placement office. Administrators summon police, but students disperse when Dean Mallet promises to stop "objectionable" recruitment until after November 5 Board meeting.

October 17, 1968 – President Hovde reverses Dean Mallet's pronouncement and declares no change in the recruiting schedule will be made.

October 17, 1968 – Four hundred people march to the president's office protesting President Hovde's reversal of Mallet's October 16 promise.

October 17, 1968 - The Student Senate holds an open forum along with over 100 Peace Union members. Mike Brand asks the Senate to advocate "effective social change."

October 18th, 1968 - President Hovde speaks at Student Government forum. Peace Union delegation and Student Body president Mark Munsell leave early in protest.

October 21, 1968 - Ten faculty and 17 graduate students publicize a letter urging President Hovde to live up to Mallett's October 16 promise to students.

October 21, 1968 - Two hundred students attend a Peace Union meeting and vow to enlist student support to stop objectionable recruiters. Other rallies take place on campus.

November 4, 1968 – Four hundred people attend the joint student-faculty forum where speakers on both sides of the College Placement Council debate express their opinions.

November 6, 1968 - Vice President for Student Services Mallett removes William Smoot as editor-in-chief of the *Exponent* for his failure to censor the Paul and Deborah Cabbell.

November 12, 1968 – President Hovde reinstates Smoot in return for the management committee oversight of *Exponent*.

November 13, 1968 - Five hundred students gather at the Mall to hear a panel discussion about the free speech controversy.

November 16, 1968 - During the Iowa-Purdue homecoming football game, two black cheerleaders present the Black Salute during the national anthem.

January 6, 1969 - *Bauls*, an underground newspaper patterned after and containing articles from West Coast alternative publications, goes on sale on Purdue campus.

January 8, 1969 – Ignoring a directive to suspend publication, the Peace Union posts a copy of *Bauls* and a letter from Dean Scott in the Memorial Center reserved display case.

February 27, 1969 - Student lobbyists attend Senate Finance Committee hearings to persuade legislators to reconsider the budget cuts to Purdue.

March 6, 1969 - Two months from the first sale of the paper, the Board of Trustees announces that the university will allow sale of *Bauls* and will not pursue legal action.

March 19, 1969 – Memorandum announces that in September, 1969, in-state tuition will increase by 75 percent, and out-of-state tuition will increase by 33 percent.

April 7, 1969 – Administration approves, “with modifications,” the Student Bill of Rights.

April 14, 1969 - Coach Dave Rankin prevents black athletes from competing because they refuse to shave their mustaches.

April 14, 1969 - Student group, chaired by Eric McCaskill, sends letter to President Hovde outlining concerns of black students. President Hovde appoints an ad hoc committee to establish a five-year program to address those issues.

April 14, 1969 - Supported by eight hundred students and some faculty members, the Union boycott to protest the tuition hike begins.

April 18, 1969 - The Athletic Affairs Committee announces that athletes and coaches will decide on suitable grooming standards, ending the five-day mustache controversy.

April 18, 1969 – Some faculty publicly refuse salary increases to support students facing tuition increases.

April 21, 1969 - Police arrest 41 students at a sit-in at Purdue University administrative offices, begun when administrators deny them access to a university budget hearing.

April, 21, 1969 - Pursuant to the conditions agreed upon with the student groups, President Hovde grants amnesty to the 41 student arrestees.

April 22, 1969 – President Hovde meets with a group of students and pledges to ask the governor for a special session of the legislature to address education funding.

April 25, 1969 - The Exponent reports that Governor Whitcomb publicly doubted the sincerity of student demands and refuses to call for a special legislative session.

May, 1969 - Students stage a prolonged “live-in” at the southwest lounge of the Memorial Union to protest tuition hikes.

May 6, 1969 – The administration approves the formation of a Black Student Union at Purdue.

May 6, 1969, early morning – Police in riot gear arrest 229 Union “live-in”⁴⁴⁸ protesters when they defied President Hovde’s order to leave.

⁴⁴⁸ The Union “live-in” was sometimes referred to as a “lounge-in.”

May 6, 1969, afternoon – In protest of the May 6 arrests, three thousand students gather outside the administration building, and 150 go inside the Executive Office.

May 6, 1969, 7:00 p.m. - Three thousand students hold a rally at the Memorial Union reflection pool and proceed through residence hall courtyards and down State Street.

May 8, 1969 – Over 4,500 Indiana students march in Indianapolis to call for special session of the Indiana General Assembly.

May 9, 1969 - The *Exponent* runs an editorial urging the president's office to ask the court to show leniency for the May 6 Union arrestees.

May 12, 1969 – The university issues a memorandum announcing the establishment of new grants and financial aid for 7,000 students.

May 31, 1969 – The administration announces that it will allow all May 6 arrestees the opportunity to apply for readmission for the 1969-1970 school year.

September 23, 1969 – Citing the appointment of a white coordinator and university veto power and control of funds, black students narrowly defeat the Black Cultural Center charter proposal.

November 13, 1969 – The Student Senate Committee on Academic Affairs reports a recent poll showing that most students support the continuation of ROTC at Purdue.

February 12, 1970 - The *Exponent* runs an editorial calling the ROTC “an island of indoctrination in a sea of academic freedom.”⁴⁴⁹

May 1, 1970 - Three hundred students rally on the Mall protesting America's military actions and proceed to the Executive Offices to ask for an end of the ROTC program and war research at Purdue.

May 1, 1970 – Six hundred students go to Armory ROTC annual review. In response to the arrest of one protester, students enter the building and refuse to leave. Police forcibly remove students.

May 11, 1970 - Pro-ROTC rally merges with Black Solidarity rally to hear the presentation of Kent State history teaching assistant, Jackie Stewart.

⁴⁴⁹ “Island of Indoctrination,” Editorial, *The Purdue Exponent*, February 12, 1969. The *Exponent* quoted psychology professor Dr. Bertram Garskof of Michigan State University who used the phrase, “island of indoctrination in a sea of academic freedom.”

May 20, 1970 – The university suspends until January, 1971, all students identified as “having participated” in the Armory incident.⁴⁵⁰

November, 1970 - First issue of the Black Union newspaper, *Black Hurricane*, hits campus residences and academic buildings.

December, 1970 -A converted residence opened its doors as the new Black Cultural Center.

1999 – Newly designed, \$300 million Black Cultural Center opens on Purdue campus.

⁴⁵⁰ “University News,” University News Service, May 20, 1970.

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Curriculum Vitae Elizabeth A. Belser

Education

IUPUI

Indianapolis, IN

- Master of Arts from Indiana University in History Indianapolis, IN

August 2017

IUPUI

- Bachelor of Science in Education, 1997, With Distinction Indianapolis, IN
Indianapolis, IN December 1997

IUPUI

- Bachelor of Arts from Indiana University in English literature, Indianapolis, IN
With Distinction December 1976

Wittenberg University

Indiana University, Bloomington

Northwestern University

- Studied American and English literature, American and world history

Professional Experience

1990 – 1994 Reading tutor, Needham Elementary School,
Franklin, Indiana

1997 – 2001 English teacher, Custer Baker Middle School
Franklin, Indiana

2001 – 2008 Social Studies teacher, Custer Baker Middle School
Franklin, Indiana

2008 – present Social Studies teacher, Franklin Middle School
Franklin, Indiana

Conferences

Liberty Fund, Indianapolis, Indiana - Colloquium for Middle School and High School Teachers on a Society of Responsible of Free and Responsible Individuals

- Summer 1999, two-week colloquium at Wabash College
- Summer 2000 and 2001, week-long colloquium at Wabash College
- Intervening years between 1999 and 2001, two annual weekend colloquia

- Summer 2005 – week-long colloquium at Wabash College

Association for Middle Level Education – annual seminars and workshops, 2001
– 2004

Organizations

Accolade, IUPUI

Mortar Board, National Honor Society

Sigma Tau Delta English Honors Society

Beta Gamma Sigma, Honor Society of Business Professionals

Organization of History Teachers